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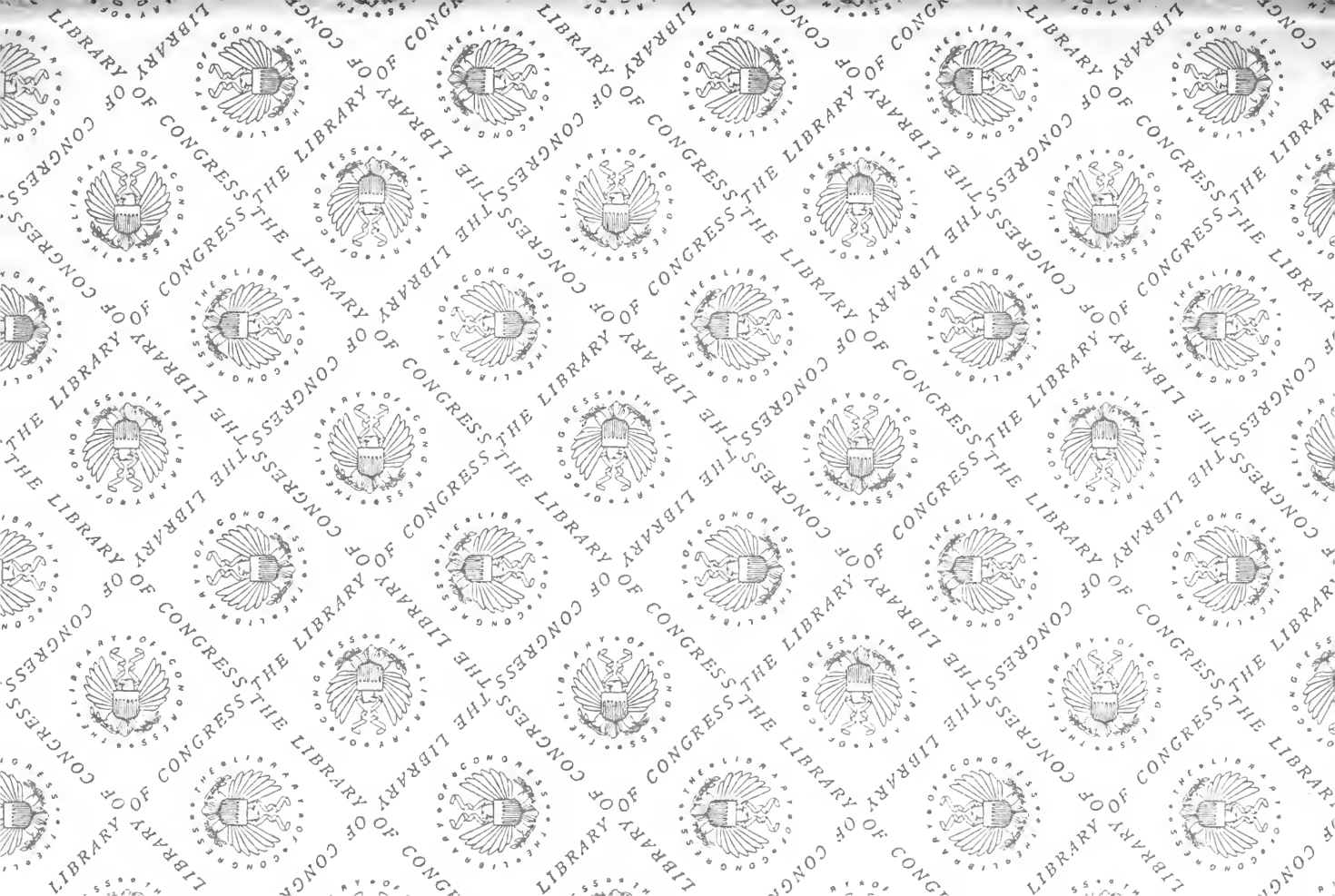
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Continuation page. I.

A

# NEW DISCOVERY

OF A

# VAST COUNTRY

## IN AMERICA

By Father Louis Hennepin

*Reprinted from the second London issue of 1698, with facsimiles of original title-pages, maps, and illustrations, and the addition of Introduction, Notes, and Index*

By Reuben Gold Thwaites

*Editor of "The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents"*

**In Two Volumes**

VOLUME II

(BEING PART II OF THE ORIGINAL)

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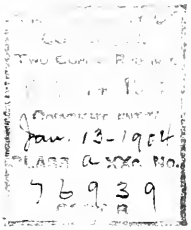
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A

# CONTINUATION,

OF THE

# New Diſcovery

OF A

## *Vaſt Country in* AMERICA,

Extending above Four Thouſand Miles,

BETWEEN

## New France *and* New Mexico;

Giving an

# ACCOUNT

OF THE

Attempts of the Sieur *De la SALLE* upon the Mines of *St. Barbe*, &c. The Taking of *Quebec* by the *Engliſh*; With the Advantages of a Shorter Cut to *China* and *Japan*.

By *L. Hennepin*, now Reſident in *Holland*.

To which are added, Several *New Diſcoveries* in *North-America*, not publiſh'd in the *French* Edition.

*LONDON*, Printed for *M. Bentley*, *J. Tonſon*, *H. Bonwick*, *T. Goodwin*, and *S. Manſhip*. 1698.

[iii] To His Majeſty

# William III.

By the Grace of God

## King of *Great Britain.*

*SIR*,

HIS Catholick Majeſty, His Electoral Highneſs of *Bavaria*, and the Superiors of my Order having given me leave to come into theſe happy Provinces, according to Your Majeſty's direction, to publiſh the Diſcoveries I have made in *America;* [iv] and Your Majeſty having been graciouſly pleaſed to accept my firſt Volume, I make bold to offer You alſo this Second Part; wherein I inſert the Travels of a Gentleman whom I have accompanied ſeveral Years, and whoſe violent Death, by the Hands of his own Men, diſappointed the great Deſigns he had formed upon the Mines of St. *Barbe* in *New Mexico*.[1] The Obſervations I make upon his Voyage will ſhew unto Poſterity, that a Man muſt never be ungratefull to his Friends, nor revenge himſelf of his Enemies, but as much as it concerns the Publick Good, which ought always to prevail upon the private Intereſt.

This is a Character peculiar to the Illuſtrious Houſe of

[1] Referring to La Salle, and to his murder in 1687.— Ed.

*Naſſau*, who has formerly fill'd the *Roman* Imperial Throne,[1] and who is now cloathed in Your Majeſty's Perſon with a Royal Power over Three great Kingdoms, and [v] other large Dominions which form the *Britiſh* Empire.

All the World agrees, that Nature and Grace have happily conſpir'd to unite in Your Sacred Perſon all the Chriſtian, Political and Military Virtue of Your Renowned Anceſtors. The great Elevation of Your *Genius*, which has manifeſted it ſelf by Your noble and generous Deſigns; Your Generoſity and Liberality ſo worthy of Your Illuſtrious Birth; Your noble Inclination to do good to all Men, even to Your Enemies themſelves, and the unparallell'd Conſtancy and greatneſs of Soul which You have expreſs'd in the greateſt Adverſities, the true Touchſtone of true Merit, are ſo conſpicuous, that every one is convinc'd of Your Majeſty's Magnanimity, Valour, Juſtice, Equity, Sincerity and Piety.

Your Majeſty ſignaliz'd the Love You had for Your own Country, when [vi] You took the Command of the Armies of the States General againſt a powerfull and victorious Conquerour, whom Your Majeſty forced to abandon almoſt in one Day the Conqueſt he had made in the united Provinces. All the World admir'd Your Valour, and more ſtill Your unparallell'd Prudence, which no body expected in ſuch a degree from a Prince of Three and twenty Years of Age.

[1] An allusion to the Holy Roman Empire, which was founded by Charlemagne in the year 800, and was long the temporal arm of the Roman See, throughout Catholic Europe. Its last head was Francis II, who on Aug. 6, 1806, resigned this imperial dignity, confining his sway to his own hereditary dominion of Austria. The emperor referred to by Hennepin was Adolph, count of Nassau, who reigned as head of the Roman Empire from 1292 to 1298.— Ed.

Never Prince was more maſter of that nice Art of ſoftening the different Tempers of Nations, managing their different Intereſt, giving Life to their Reſolutions, and therefore no Prince had been able hitherto to form and cement ſuch an Alliance as we ſee at this Day for the ſafety of *Europe*. Thoſe great Qualities and incomparable Virtues make Your Majeſty the Darling of Your People and the Terror of Your Enemies, and keep Rebels and Factious men in awe, when Your Majeſty's [vii] abſence out of Your own Kingdoms ſeems to give them a fair Opportunity to diſturb the Tranquility of *Great Britain:* As You aſcended the Throne without any effuſion of Blood, God, whoſe Glory has been always Your chiefeſt Care, having been pleaſed to crown with a glorious and unexpected Succeſs, the Equity of Your Intentions, ſo Mercy and Clemency have been ever ſince the Baſis of it, notwithſtanding the many repeated Provocations of ill-diſpoſed Perſons, whoſe Obſtinacy deſerv'd to be puniſh'd.

The Confederate Princes having choſen Your Majeſty for their *Generaliſſimo*, and given proof in their choice both of the Reſpect and Truſt they have in Your Majeſty, nothing ſeems wanting to compleat Your Glory but to procure to *Europe* a ſolid and laſting Peace, which we hope is near at hand, and which will ſhew Your Majeſty's incomparable Prudence and Wiſdom, as [viii] the management of the War has ſhown Your Valour and Magnanimity. The ſo much admir'd Prudence of *Cæſar*, and the Valour of *Alexander*, come very ſhort of what Your Majeſty has already expreſs'd,

and all impartial Men will agree, that Your Majeſty has exceeded the moſt famous Heroes mentioned in Hiſtory; but I muſt leave off this Subject for fear of offending Your *Modeſty*, which is an inſeparable Companion of all great Souls.

I muſt beg Your Majeſty's Pardon for the Liberty I take to complain againſt ſome Inhabitants of this City of *Utrecht*, who, though of the ſame Religion as I am, endeavour to render me odious, becauſe, being a *Franciſcan*, I have dedicated to Your Majeſty two Volumes of the Diſcovery I have made in *America*. They ought to know that I have done nothing but by Your Majeſty's Permiſſion and that of the States, and therefore they [ix] have not a due reſpect for Your Sacred Majeſty and their High and Mightineſſes. I hope thoſe very Perſons will acknowledge one time or other their miſtake and the ſincerity of my Intentions, which are ſuch, that I may confidently ſay, I propoſe nothing to my ſelf but the Glory of God, and to find out, under Your Majeſty's Protection, a Paſſage into *China* and *Japan* without croſſing twice the Line, which the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* have ſo often vainly attempted, through the Frozen Sea: I hope, Sir, through the Aſſiſtance of God, and the Favour of Your Majeſty, to ſucceed in my Deſign, and diſcover it before the end of this Age.

By theſe means a great many Barbarous Nations will be brought to the knowledge of the true God and their Redeemer Jeſus Chriſt, which I am ſure is a ſufficient motive for Your Majeſty to give all Incouragement for this Undertaking; for being convinc'd of [x] Your Majeſty's Piety, I need not uſe

for an Argument the Temporal Advantages, that will accrue thereby to Your Kingdoms.

That God be pleaſed to bleſs Your Majeſty with all ſorts of Proſperities, Your Undertakings with a glorious Succeſs, and Your Subjects with an everlaſting Felicity, is and will always be the Prayer of,

*SIR*,

*Your Majeſty's moſt Humble*
*and moſt Obedient Servant*,

F. Lewis Hennepin,
*Miſſionary Recollect and Notary Apoſtolick.*

# THE PREFACE.

I *NEED not make a long Preface to this Book, the Subject Matter thereof is able to recommend it ſelf to the peruſal of all Inquiſitive Readers. The World, tho' unjuſt in moſt caſes, do however Juſtice to Travellers, and the Accounts of their Voyages meet, generally ſpeaking, with a more favourable Reception than any other Performances. This is a kind of Reward to Travellers for the unſpeakable Fatigues they have ſuffer'd. Notwithſtanding I have not travelled through Polite Nations, nor ſeen any wonderfull Edifices in the Countries I have diſcovered, I have met with that Reward; the Deſcription of the Cabins of Reeds and Ruſhes, which are the Habitations of above* 200 *Nations unknown before me, have been as acceptable to Ingenious Readers as the Deſcription of their noble Palaces and Temples of* China *in ſome other Authors. My Deſcription of* Louiſiania *was printed ſeveral times, and the* [xii] *late Volume I publiſhed has met with ſuch a Reception, that I may preſume this will have the ſame fate. And really the Diſcovery of* 200 *different Nations unknown hitherto to the* Europeans *is, one would think, a fit Subject to excite any one's Curioſity.*

*I would therefore break off my Preface in this place, were I not obliged to anſwer ſome falſe Accuſations my Enemies have raiſed againſt me, and becauſe I am in a Religious Order, I think fit to begin with inſerting two Atteſtations or Certificates of Fathers*

*of my own Order, which will prevent ſome further Calumnies on that Point.*

I UNDERWRITTEN certify to have read and examined a Book entituled, *A Deſcription of Louiſiana*, newly diſcovered to the *South-weſt* of *New France*, with an Account of the Manners of the Savages of that Country, written by Father *Hennepin* a Recollect Preacher, and Apoſtolick Miſſionary, and to have found nothing therein contrary to Faith or good Manners, but that on the contrary, the ſaid Book contains many Reflections and Remarks, which may be of great uſe for the Converſion of the Savages, and the Advantages of the Kingdom. Given at our Co[n]vent of Recollects in *Paris*, *December* 13, 1682.

F. Ceſaree Harveau *Lector in Divinity*, *Father Provincial and Cuſtos of the Recollects of the Province of St.* Denys *in* France.

[xiii]

I HAVE read a book entituled, *A Deſcription of Louiſiana*, newly diſcovered to the *South-weſt* of *New France*, with an Account of the Manners of the Savages of that Country, in which I have found nothing but what is conformable to the Faith of the Catholick, Apoſtolick and *Roman* Church, the Laws of the Kingdom, and good Manners; and it may be very uſefull towards eſtabliſhing the Faith of Jeſus Chriſt in that new World, and extending the Empire of our Monarch in that fertile and delicious Country. Given at St. *Germain en Laye* in our Co[n]vent of Recollects, *December* 14, 1682.

F. Innocent Micault *Definitor of the Recollects of the Province of St.* Denys *in* France, *and General Commiſſioner in the Province of Recollects of St.* Anthony *in* Artois.

*Having premiſed theſe two Certificates, I come now to anſwer the Objections my Enemies urge againſt me.*

1. *How, ſay they, can a* Franciſcan, *and conſequently a Prieſt of the Church of* Rome, *ſollicit a Proteſtant Prince to ſend him to preach the Goſpel unto the Ignorant Nations he has diſcovered? For is it not more reaſonable to think, that that Monarch will rather convert that People to his own Religion, than ſuffer Catholick Miſſionaries* [xiv] *to convert them to the Church of* Rome? *What Opinion then ought Men to have of the Religion of Father* Hennepin? *This is the chief Argument inſiſted on by my Enemies to make me odious to thoſe of my Religion, or rather to the ignorant part of it; but I may eaſily confute that ſilly Calumny: For in the firſt place, His Majeſty of* Great Britain *has not exacted nor demanded any Promiſe of me, when He was pleaſed to admit me into His Service, that may be directly or indirectly contrary to my Religion. Theſe Bigots ought by the ſame reaſon to cenſure the Emperor, the King of* Spain, *the Electors of the Empire, and Biſhops of* Liege, Munſter, *&c. who are entred into ſo ſtrict an Alliance with His Majeſty of* Great Britain, *and conclude from thence, that thoſe Catholick Princes have formed ſome Deſign againſt the Catholick Religion. But ſuppoſing that the* Engliſh *convert thoſe numerous Nations to their Religion, and that I contribute ſomething to it, am I for all that to be blamed? I hope no body will ſay ſo, unleſs it be thoſe moroſe Bigots, who think that the ignorant* Americans *who worſhip the Devil, or any other Creature, are nearer to the Kingdom of God than Proteſtants who worſhip the ſame God as we, hope in the ſame Redeemer, and are ſeparated from us only upon ſome points; which Opinion I look upon as a Frenzy worthy of my Com-*

*paſſion, and not of a Reply. But who told them that the Catholick Faith cannot be preached under the Protection of King* William, *or the States General? Thoſe who cenſure me, enjoy their Religion* [xv] *under that very Protection, and the Reader will find at the latter end of this Volume, what offers the* English *made to our Recollects in* America. *But let them ſay what they pleaſe, I have the Approbation of His Catholick Majeſty, the Elector of* Bavaria, *and the permiſſion of the Superiors of my Order.*

2. *Some others think that I impoſe upon them in the Account I give of the courſe of the* Meſchaſipi, *and that it is not poſſible I ſhould have travelled in ſo ſhort a time from its Mouth to its Source. To theſe I reply, that they are not acquainted with* Canous *made of Bark of Trees, which are ſo light that one may travel* 20, 25, *and in caſe of need* 30 *Leagues in a Day againſt the Stream of a River, whereas by my Account it does not come to Ten in a Day. But if one follows the Stream, as we did from the River of the* Illinois *to the Mouth of the* Meſchaſipi, *the ſwiftneſs is ſo great, that I am ſure we ſpent twice more than was requir'd.*

3. *When wicked and malicious Perſons conſpire the Ruin of a Man they hate, or elſe who gives them ſome umbrage, they make uſe of all Artifices; therefore my Enemies being afraid, that the publiſhing of my Diſcoveries may prejudice their Intereſt, they have done their utmoſt to diſſwade the Bookſellers of this City of* Utrecht *from printing my Books; inſinuating, that this was but a Repetition of my Deſcription of* Louiſiana *publiſhed many Years agoe, and tranſlated, as they ſay, into Dutch; but really this is very impertinent; for my* Louiſiana *contains not* 20 *Sheets, and how is it* [xvi] *poſſible that the Abſtract of it ſhould contain* 50*? 'Tis true, I repeat*

*ſome few things I publiſhed then, becauſe otherwiſe I had been unintelligible, but moſt commonly I refer the Reader to that Book, which certainly I would not have done, if this laſt were nothing but the Repetition of the former. But I would ask theſe Gentlemen, whether they have found in the Deſcription of* Louiſiana, *any Account of the Courſe of the* Meſchaſipi *from the River of the* Illinois *into the Gulph of* Mexico; *nor the Account of Mr.* de la Salle*'s unfortunate Travels, with my Additions, and many other things: And as there is no body ſo impudent to ſay they have, they confute themſelves, and muſt own, that theſe two Books I have dedicated to His Majeſty were not printed before. I have however the Comfort that they don't accuſe me to have robb'd others; the* Louiſiana *was my own Work, and I think I may be as free to borrow ſomething from it in caſe of need, as others have done.*

4. *A Learned Man has obſerv'd in a very civil manner, that I have ſaid that I have ſpent* about 11 Years in my Diſcovery, *and yet it does not appear by my Account of it that I have been ſo long; but he muſt obſerve, that when I ſay Eleven Years, I reckon from the time that I ſet out from* Flanders, *which was juſt after the Battel of* Seneff, *where I was in great danger of my life, to the ſecond Edition of my Deſcription of* Louiſiana, *which was in* 1688; *and therefore I might have ſaid Fourteen Years inſtead of Eleven; for* [xvii] *I have been all that while about it, either in* Europe *or* America.

5. *Some other peeviſh Criticks urge, that when I ſay that the of Savages of* Iſſati *call the Sun* Louis, *I deſigned to flatter the King* France; *but this is a fooliſh Suggeſtion, and a far fetch'd Flattery, the name of* Louis *being common to the King and the meaneſt of*

*his Subjects; therefore I repeat, how that having liv'd a conſiderable time in the Family of* Aquipaguetin, *one of the chief of the* Iſſati, *and learned their Language, I was aſſured, that they call the Sun by no other name than* Louis, *and the Moon* Louis Baſetche, *that is the Sun of the Night.*

6. *Others having no Objection to make, tells us, That I relate nothing extraordinary; but in the name of Wonder, what will this People have? For if the Deſcription of* 4 *or* 5 *Lakes, or rather Freſh-water Seas, ſome of which are in circuit* 4, 5 *and* 700 *Leagues, upon which we ſailed with a Ship of* 60 *Tuns for* 500 *Leagues together, to the great amazement of the Savages, who had never ſeen the like, nor heard the noiſe of Cannon: If the Deſcription of the fall of* Ni[a]gara, *which is one of the moſt ſurprizing things in the World, the Water falling from above* 700 *Foot high: If the Diſcovery of* 200 *different Nations unknown before, and of whom no Traveller had made mention; if all theſe things, I ſay, with the Deſcription of that delicious Country, does not ſeem extraordinary, I don't know what will ſeem ſuch to thoſe Gentlemen. I relate what I have ſeen, and* [xviii] *really I lie under no temptation to forge any ſurprizing Diſcovery to recommend my Book, the real things I have obſerv'd being worthy of the Conſideration of all ingenious Men.*

7. *Such who have not travelled, nor read many Accounts of Voyages, are very apt to blame what they don't underſtand, and therefore laugh when one tells them of a new diſcovered Country larger than* Europe, *for they fancy there can be no ſuch thing; and when they talk of* Canada, *they talk of it as if it were no larger than a Principality in* Germany; *but Men of Parts and Reading*

*are of another Opinion: I have demonſtrated that* Canada *is about* 700 *Leagues long, and that the Coaſt of the River St.* Laurence, *which I have ſurvey'd from its Mouth to the great Lake from which it ſprings is near* 800 *Leagues long. I ſay the ſame thing of the incomparable River* Meſchaſipi, *which is larger and bigger than the former; and to ſhew the probability of the thing, I have ſet down in the general Map of my Diſcovery the Courſe of the River of the* Amazons, *in the Southern* America, *which is eſteemed much the ſame, though in my Opinion the* Meſchaſipi *and the River St.* Laurence *have a longer Courſe. From the Courſe of theſe Rivers, and the Extent of the Lakes, I conclude that the Continent I have diſcovered is larger than* Europe, *which might in time form one of the greateſt Empires in the World.*

*I intend to deſcribe in this Volume thoſe Countries, to treat of the nature of their Soil, and of* [xix] *the Cuſtoms, Manners, and Genius of the Inhabitants; and what ſort of Trades may be ſettled in thoſe Parts; therefore I thought fit to add an Abſtract of the Voyage Mr.* de la Salle *made thither after me. The whole is divided into Chapters, according to the Method I followed in the Firſt Part.*

*I deſign the latter end of my Book to treat of the few Converſions our Miſſionaries have wrought in* Canada, *notwithſtanding their Zeal and indefatigable Labours, which ought to make us thankfull towards God, who out of his infinite kindneſs has been pleaſed to bleſs us with his Knowledge, whilſt ſo many thouſands of our fellow Creatures are wholly left to themſelves, without any Knowledge of God. I am however fully convinced, that the Savages inhabiting the Banks of the* Meſchaſipi *will be more ſucceptible and*

*capable of embracing our Holy Religion, becauſe they are not ſo fierce, than the Savages of the* North, *who are commonly Cruel and Obſtinate.*

*To make this Volume more uſefull, I have made ſome Reflections on Mr.* de la Salle*'s laſt Voyage, becauſe I was better acquainted with thoſe vaſt Countries than Father* Chriſtian le Clercqz,[1] *Definitor of our Recollects of the Province of* Artois, *who has publiſhed an Account of it. I have a great eſteem for that Father, and was always his Friend, and muſt own, that he has given a good Account of* Canada, *and* Gaſpeſia; *but at the ſame time I muſt ſay, that the Account he gives of the Inhabitants of* Louiſiana *and about the* Meſchaſipi *is not to* [xx] *be rely'd upon, for he never was within* 1200 *Leagues of that Country.* Gaſpee *in* Accadia, *and* Quebec, *the neareſt places where he has been, being above that diſtance. 'Tis true, the Diary of my Diſcovery, of which I gave a Copy to Father* Valentin le Roux, *as I have obſerved in my firſt Volume, was communicated unto him, as alſo ſome Memoirs of Father* Zenobe Mambre, *who remained among the* Illinois, *while I was ſent to diſcover the Courſe of the* Meſchaſipi; *and ſo far Father* le Clercqz *is right, but his Additions are not of the ſame Coyn. I do not wonder that he ſhould commend ſo much Father*

[1] Chrestien le Clercq was a missionary in Gaspé from 1675 to 1689, and wrote an account of his labors there — *Relation de la Gaspésie* (Paris, 1691). In 1681 he went to France, and returned to Canada in the following year, commissioned by his superiors to establish a Récollet residence at Montreal. In 1690 he was recalled to France. Hennepin here refers to Le Clercq's other book, which we have often cited, *Premier Établissement de la Foy dans la Nouvelle France* (Paris, 1691), which gives full accounts of La Salle's voyages.

The final "z" in Le Clercq's name, as here given, is doubtless an error of the English printer, arising from either some flourish at the end of "q," or the contraction for "ue" (ꝫ), often used in early French MSS. — Ed.

Mambre, *who was his own Couſin, and a very good Man beſides. We travelled together as far as Fort* Crevecœur *mentioned in my firſt Volume, where I left him among the* Illinois, *and have been always good Friends. After his return from* America *he came to ſee me in our Co*[*n*]*vent of* Chateau Cambreſis [Cambray], *and told me, he was going again into* America *with Mr.* de la Salle, *and that he expected he ſhould have an Opportunity to make more exact Obſervations on the* Meſchaſipi *than thoſe I had done in the Year* 1680, *becauſe Mr.* de la Salle *deſigned to undertake that Voyage with ſuch a number of Men as to fear nothing from the Inſults of the Savages. But if I do not blame Father* le Clercqz *for the honourable mention he makes of his Relation, I think every body will condemn him for his concealing the name of the Author he has tranſcrib'd, and thereby attributing to himſelf the glory of my perilous Voyage.*[1] *This* [xxi] *piece of Injuſtice is common enough in this Age.*

*Mr.* de la Salle *undertook to go down the* Meſchaſipi *from the River of the* Illinois *in the Year* 1682, *that is, two Years after me, which was the ſource and cauſe of his Animoſity againſt me, and of the rigorous Orders they obtained from the Court of* France, *to command me to depart the Dominions of the* French *King, upon*

[1] This aspersion is hardly justified by Le Clercq's own words; he says (Shea's translation of *Établissement de la Foy*, ii, pp. 125, 128, 129): "Father Louis . . . has published the description of the countries which he visited, and into which he carried the Gospel. I, therefore, must refer my reader to it without repeating any part of it here. . . . As I continue the account of a discovery in which Father Zenobius [Membré] took a considerable part and was constantly present, and as we derive from his letters the chief information we can have about it . . . it corresponds with many fragments which we have of the Sieur de la Salle, and the testimony of Frenchmen and Indians who accompanied them."—Ed.

*pretence that I was a Subject of the King of* Spain, *as I have mentioned in my Preface to my firſt Volume. This Order, as I may preſume to ſay ſo, was as contrary to the Rule of Juſtice, as of Politicks, for they might very well foreſee that I ſhould acquaint ſome perſon or other with my Diſcoveries, and croſs thereby their Deſigns.*

*From theſe Obſervations it is plain, that as I was the firſt* European *who diſcovered the Courſe of the* Meſchaſipi, *and the delicious Country about it; ſo all others have ſeen nothing but what I had ſeen before, and have related nothing material, but what they have abſtracted out of the Copy of the Journal of my Voyage which I gave to Father* Valentin le Roux, *and was by him communicated to Father* Hyacinth le Fevre.

*Mr.* de la Salle *had begun a Settlement in the Iſland of* Montreal *in* Canada, *which is* 25 *Leagues about, and this ſmall Colony is ſo much improv'd as to be now a great and populous Village.*[1] *They call it* China, *becauſe while Mr.* de la Salle *lived there, and began the Settlement, he ſpoke very often of the Mines of St.* Barbe, *and ſaid, that as ſoon as he had taken thoſe Mines, he would go* [xxii] *into* China *and* Japan *without croſſing the Line, and to that end, find a Paſſage into the* South-Sea. *This was the chief Subject of our Converſations, and as the Diſcoveries I have made cannot be far from the* Pacifick Sea, *I don't queſtion but Mr.* de la Salle, *whoſe great Courage was proof againſt all Difficulties and Misfortunes, would have ſucceeded in his Deſign.*

[1] The village of La Chine. Hennepin exaggerates its growth; for the official census of October, 1698, gives the total population of Lachine, Bout de l'Isle, and Rivière St. Pierre as but 270 souls (including children).— Ed.

P. 9.

*The Unfortunate adventures of Mons.r de la Salle.*

*Thoſe who are skill'd in Geography have long agoe ſuſpected that* Japan *is contiguous to the Lands of the* Northern America; *and the Learned* Grævius,[1] *ſo well known in the Commonwealth of Learning, having carefully examined our Diſcovery, was pleaſed to tell me very lately in a meeting of* Vertuoſi, *in this City of* Utrecht, *That he was of my Opinion, and did not think that* Japan *was an Iſland, as it is commonly ſaid, but that it joyns with the large Country I had diſcovered.*

*I have made uſe of a proof in my laſt Volume, Chapter* 37, *which I crave leave to repeat in this place, becauſe it is a Matter of Fact: While I was amongſt the* Iſſati *and* Nadoueſſans *there came an Embaſſy of Savages from a very remote Nation to the* Weſtward. *I was in the Cabin when my Foſter Father* Aquipaguetin *(for he had adopted me his Son) gave them Audience, and having asked them ſome Queſtions by an Interpreter, they told me that they came from a remote Country to the* Weſtward, *that they had marched* 3 *Moons, (that is, Months) without meeting with any* Laſa, *that is in their meaning, the Seas; which certainly* [xxiii] *could not be true, was there any ſuch a thing as the Streight of* Agnian *ſet down in moſt of our Mapps.*

*The* Engliſh *and* Dutch *have in vain attempted to find out a Paſſage to* China *and* Japan *through the* Frozen-Sea, *but if they are pleaſed to ſend me about it, I am confident that I ſhall find ſome great River running into the* Pacifick-Sea, *whereby, and by means of the* Meſchaſipi, *it will be eaſie to trade and have Com-*

[1] Joannes G. Graef (Latinized, Grævius), a German philologist and archæologist, professor in the university of Utrecht (where he died in 1703), and author of numerous books.— Ed.

*munication with* China *and* Japan *without croſſing twice the Line: and loſing abundance of Men.*

*I am ſo fully convinced of what I ſay, that I am willing to return into* America *to ſhew the Way unto others; ſome will blame me for this raſh Undertaking, but why ſhould I have leſs Zeal for the Service of God than thoſe Pious Recollects who ventured into the Kingdom of* Voxu *in the* Eaſtern *part of* Japan, *and converted the King thereof to the Knowledge of God. That Prince was ſo Zealous for the true Religion, that he burnt* 800 *Idols, and ſent an Ambaſſador into* Europe *with a Retinue of* 100 *Gentlemen. They embarked* October 28. 1613, *and arrived in* Spain November 10. 1614, *being conducted by Father* Lewis Sotello *a Recollect, who preſented the ſaid Ambaſdor to his Catholick Majeſty, and afterwards to the Pope, whom he aſſured, that the King his Maſter and moſt of his Subjects had renounced their Idolatry and embraced the Chriſtian Religion. The Reader will forgive me if I relate two or three things more for the Honour of my Order.*[1] *The* [xxiv] Franciſcans *were the firſt who accompanied* Chriſtopher Columbus *into his newly diſcovered Country, and had the Honour to preach firſt of all the Knowledge of God to the* Indians. *The Conqueſt of the* Spaniards *arrived to the higheſt pitch in the Years* 1540 *and* 1541, *and yet no other Religious Order had been employed to bring thoſe loſt Sheep into the Flock of the Lord, and they alone had converted a great part of the Subjects of the King of*

[1] The Franciscan order (also called Gray Friars, and Friars Minor) was founded in 1209, by St. Francis d'Assisi. Not long after his death, his order numbered 200,000 priests and 8,000 convents. The Récollets were an offshoot from the Franciscans (about 1531).—Ed.

Japan *unto the Chriſtian Faith: So that having thoſe great Models before me, I may ſay, that I long to make an end of my Diſcovery.*

*That ſhort paſſage into* China, *would, I think, prove as advantageous to* Europe, *as any Diſcovery that has been yet made; and this is another great Encouragement for me, for what greater ſatisfaction can a rational Being propoſe to himſelf, than to do good to Mankind, and find out ſomething uſefull to his Country? Having therefore all Power and Patents neceſſary for my Miſſion, I am ready for that great Voyage, and I hope, through the Grace of God to be able to go through that Diſcovery, and thereby convince the World of the Equity of my Intentions.*

*The Reader may obſerve, that the Settlements that ſhall be made in that Country will abſolutely be managed by Laicks, and that ſuppoſing the* Franciſcans *ſhould be employ'd* 500 *Years about the Converſion of the Natives, they ſhould not have there an inch of Land to themſelves, it being againſt the Laws of their Order; whereas in ſome other Countries, where another Order has got a* [xxv] *footing, they are Maſters now of the Temporal as well as the Spiritual, the beſt Lordſhips and Manners* [Manors] *belonging to them. How they have diſcharged their Spiritual Function, I don't know, but ſure I am, they have taken a great care of their Temporal Intereſt, as I intend to ſhew in a third Volume, which I ſhall publiſh in this City of* Utrecht, *if it is thought convenient.*

*I ſhould have a fair opportunity to avenge my ſelf in this Preface of certain Perſons of this very Town, who have aſperſed me with the utmoſt Malice, and kept for their own uſe the Money*

*I had received from his Majeſty of* Great Britain, *and which I advanc'd to them for my Subſiſtence. This is a very foul Action, and worthy to be publickly taken notice of; but my Religion teaching me to forgive my Enemies, I follow that Precept, and do heartily forgive them.*

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[1] A

# VOYAGE

INTO A

## Newly Diſcover'd Country

Larger than

# EUROPE,

Situate between the

## *Frozen Sea* and *New Mexico.*

### CHAP. I.

*An Account of M.* de la Salle's *Undertaking to diſcover the River* Meſchaſipi *by the Gulph of* Mexico, *and his eſtabliſhing a ſmall Colony at the Bay of St.* Lewis.

REASON ought to rule Men in all caſes, and whenever they think themſelves wrong'd by others, they ought, as Chriſtians, to impute it rather to their Pre-occupation or Prejudices, than to their Malice; and this Maxim I propoſe to my ſelf as my rule, as the Readers will obſerve in the following Narration.

I liv'd near three Years together as Miſſionary with Mr. *Robert Cavelier de la Salle* at Fort *Katarokouy* or *Frontenac*, whereof he was Governor and Proprietor; and during that

time, we read together the Voyages [2] of *John Pontius de Leon*, *Pamphylio Narvaez Chriſtopher Columbus*, *Ferdinand Soto*,[1] and ſeveral other Travellers, the better to fit and prepare our ſelves for the great Diſcovery we intended to make. M. *de la Salle* was a fit Man for the greateſt Undertakings, and may be juſtly rank'd amongſt the moſt famous Travellers that ever were, as it will appear to whomſoever will conſider that he ſpent his own Eſtate about the greateſt, moſt important, and moſt perillous Diſcovery that has been yet made; which he undertook with a handfull of Men, whom he preſerv'd from the numerous Nations he diſcover'd, amongſt whom all other Travellers, except *Columbus*, periſh'd without reaping any advantage from their Enterprizes, which however coſt them above 100000 Men: ſo that upon the whole, I may boldly conclude, that no body, before M. *de la Salle* and I, undertook ſo dangerous an Expedition with ſo few Men.

Our deſign was to endeavour to find out, if poſſible, a Paſſage from the Northern to the South Sea without croſſing the Line, which a great many have hitherto ſought in vain. The River *Meſchaſipi* does not indeed run that way, but however M. *de la Salle* was in hopes to diſcover by the means of the *Meſchaſipi*, ſome other River running into the South Sea, and knowing his great Courage and Ability, I don't queſtion but he would have ſucceeded, had God been pleaſed to preſerve his Life. As that unfortunate Gentleman was about it, he was murther'd; and if the divine Providence has

[1] Juan Ponce de Leon, the discoverer of Florida; Pamphilio de Narvaez, another noted Spanish officer in Florida; Cristoforo Colombo, who discovered the New World; and Hernando de Soto, who first made known the Mississippi River.—Ed.

ſpar'd me, 'tis it ſeems, that I may acquaint the World with a ſhort way to go to *China* and *Japan*, which I hope may be done by means of my Diſcoveries: Therefore if his Majeſty of *Great Britain*, or the States General are willing to ſend any body to find out that ſo much talk'd of Paſſage, and that I may accompany them, I am morally ſure that by the Grace of God, we ſhall ſucceed before the end of this Age.

[3] The Country of the *Illinois*, and other neighbouring Nations, being the Center of our Diſcovery, M. *de la Salle* deſign'd to ſettle there a Colony; and therefore any Prince or State, who will purſue ſo generous a Deſign, muſt follow the ſame method, and build Forts from Place to Place, to have an uninterrupted Communication, and keep in awe the Inhabitants of theſe vaſt Countries. The firſt thing M. *de la Salle* did in order thereto, was to endeavour to find out by Sea the Mouth of the *Meſchaſipi*, which diſcharges it ſelf into the Gulph of *Mexico*, as it has been ſaid in my firſt Volume, to ſettle there a Colony, and build a good Fort to be as his Magazine, and ſerve as a retreat both by Sea and Land in caſe of any miſhap. He made his Propoſals to the *French* King's Council; which were perus'd and approv'd by Monſieur *de Seignelay* Secretary and Miniſter of State, and Intendent General of the Commerce and Navigation of *France*, his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty[1] approved likewiſe his Deſign, gave him all

[1] Louis XIV was then King of France. Jean Baptiste Colbert, marquis de Seignelay, son of the great Colbert, was one of his ministers until his death in 1691. Larousse says of Seignelay: "Under his administration the French marine attained a degree of prosperity which it has never known since, and could compete with the combined fleets of England and Holland."—Ed.

neceſſary Authority, and ſupply'd him with Ships, Men and Money.

M. *de la Salle* having obtain'd what he deſir'd from the King, thought of chuſing able Miſſionaries to convert thoſe barbarous and wild Nations unto the Chriſtian Religion, and reſolv'd to uſe two different Orders; but as this choice was a nice and difficult thing, he apply'd himſelf to Monſieur *Tronſon* Superiour of the *Seminary* of St. *Sulpicius* at *Paris*,[1] who appointed three Men of great Vertue, Zeal and Capacity to attend M. *de la Salle* as Miſſionaries; theſe were M. *Cavelier* Brother to M. *de la Salle*, M. *Chefdeville* a Relation of his, and M. *Majulle*, Prieſts in the ſaid *Seminary*.

I had attended M. *de la Salle* near twelve Years in the Diſcovery of *Louiſiana*, and Father *Zenobe*, and *Gabriel de la Ribourde* and my ſelf had likewiſe accompanied him into the Country of the *Illinois*, where *Gabriel* was murthered by the Savages, therefore [4] M. *de la Salle* reſolved to have ſome *Recollects* to endeavour to eſtabliſh the Knowledge of God in thoſe vaſt Countries, and to that end applied himſelf to Father *Hyacinth le Fevre*, who was then for a ſecond time *Provincial Commiſſary* of the Province of St. *Denys* in *France*, who granted him the Miſſionaries he demanded, *viz.* Father *Zenobe Mambré* of *Bapaume* as Superiour, Father *Maxime le*

[1] Jean Jacques Olier, a priest at Paris, founded (1640) an association of priests at Vaugirard, which he transferred in the following year to Paris, where it expanded into the Seminary of St. Sulpice, its priests being known as Sulpitians. In 1657, some were sent to Montreal, and six years later the Associates of Montreal surrendered to the Seminary their newly-formed colony, with their seigniorial rights over Montreal Island — possessions which have made the Montreal branch of the order enormously wealthy. — Ed.

*Clerc* of *Lille* in *Flanders*, *Anaſtaſe Douay* of *Queſnoy* in *Hainault*, and *Denys Morquet* of *Arras*, all *Recollects* of the Province of St. *Anthony* in *Artois*. The firſt, as I have ſaid, had been as far as the *Illinois* with M. *de la Salle*, and I toward the latter end of the Year 1679. And the beginning of the following, and two Years after, *viz.* 1682 he went with M. *de la Salle* to the Mouth of the *Meſchaſipi* in the Gulph of *Mexico*, about two Years after my Diſcovery. The ſecond Father had been five Years Miſſionary in *Canada*, and had performed the Functions of his Miniſtry with great Diligence and much Edification, eſpecially in the Miſſion of the *Seven Iſlands* and *Anticoſti*. Father *Douay*, who is now Vicar of the *Recollects* of *Cambray*, had never been in *America*, no more than Father *Denys*, who fell ſo ſick three days after he went on board, that he was forced to go a-ſhore and return into his Province.

The *Provincial* of the Order acquainted with this Miſſion the Congregation *de propaganda fide*,[1] to obtain the Power and Authority neceſſary for that Enterprize, who ſent a Decree according to the uſual Form; and Pope *Innocent* XI. added a Brief thereunto, containing ſeveral Powers and Commiſſions in 36 Articles, that are uſually granted to Miſſionaries going into remote Countries, where they cannot referr certain Caſes to Biſhops. The Biſhop of *Quebec* oppos'd it with all his Intereſt, but Cardinal *d'Etrees*[2] ſhew'd, that his

[1] This body was formed by Pope Gregory XIII, in 1622, to spread the Roman Catholic faith, and to direct all missions of that church — a work which it still continues. — Ed.

[2] César d' Estrées, a French cardinal; a noted ecclesiastic and diplomatist of the seventeenth century. — Ed.

Oppoſition was unreaſonable, ſeeing the Country where theſe Miſſionaries were to preach the [5] Goſpel, was 1000 Leagues diſtant from *Quebec*.

The advantages they expected in *France* from our Diſcovery were ſo great, that ſeveral young Gentlemen offer'd themſelves to accompany M. *de la Salle* as Volunteers, tho' they knew him only by the character I had given of him in my Deſcription of *Louiſiana*, which I publiſh'd after my return into *France*. This alſo gain'd him the eſteem of Monſieur *Seignelay*, which was very advantageous to him. That Miniſter ſent for me ſeveral times to diſcourſe with him about the circumſtances of our Diſcovery, which I told him ſincerely, concealing only my Diſcovery of the Courſe of the *Meſchaſipi* from the River of the *Illinois* to the Gulph of *Mexico*, out of pure kindneſs for M. *de la Salle*, who thereby recommended himſelf to the favour of the late Prince of *Conti*[1] and Monſieur *Seignelay*.

All things being thus favourably diſpoſed, M. *de la Salle* choſe twelve Gentlemen, who appear'd to him vigorous, and like to bear the Fatigues of that Voyage, and amongſt them, he took two of his own Nephews, *viz.* Mr. *Moranger* and Mr. *Cavelier*, tho' this laſt was but fourteen Years of Age. One *Mertin*, Son to a rich Merchant of *Rochel*, went alſo with him. In the mean time, they fitted out in that Harbour his ſmall Fleet, which conſiſted of four Ships, *viz.* the *Toby*, one of the King's Men of War; the *Handſom*, a ſmall Frigat; a

[1] Louis Armand de Bourbon, prince de Conti, who died in 1685; a dissolute but brave nobleman.—Ed.

Fly-Boat, call'd *l'Aimable*, and a Ketch, call'd St. *Francis*. The Man of War was commanded by Monſieur *de Beaujeu*, a Gentleman of *Normandy*, with whom I have had ſeveral Converſations ſince his return, at *Dunkirk*. This Officer is known by his great Services and long Experience, as well as his Lieutenant, the Chevalier *de Here*, who is now Captain of a Man of War. The Enſign was called *de Hamel*, a Gentleman of *Bretaigny*, of a ſtrong and vigorous Conſtitution. It were to be wiſhed that [6] the Crew of the Ships, as well as the Soldiers, had anſwered the Character of the Officers; but while M. *de la Salle* was at Court, thoſe whom he employed to make his Levies, liſted about 150 poor Beggars, deformed, lame, and unfit for the hard Services they were deſign'd for: He had alſo deſir'd them to engage Men of ſeveral Profeſſions, as Blackſmiths, Carpenters, Joyners, Maſons, and the like; but when he came to try them, he found they were dull and ignorant Creatures, ſo that he was forced to find out new Soldiers and Workmen, which took up much of his time. About ten Families of the Neighbourhood of *Rochel* offer'd themſelves to go with him to ſettle a Colony, which he accepted, and advanc'd them Money to buy what was thought moſt neceſſary for their Eſtabliſhment.

His Preparations being finiſhed, the Fleet ſailed *July* 24, 1684 from *Rochel*, but a violent Storm oblig'd them to come back, and they continued in the Road till *Auguſt* 5, that they ſail'd for St. *Domingo*. They met with another Storm on the 14 of *September*, which ſeparated the Fleet; the Fly-boat remain'd alone with the Frigat, and arriv'd together at *Petit-*

*Guaves*, where they found the *Toby*, and heard that the St. *Francis*, on board which were their Merchandizes, was arriv'd at *Port de Paix*. The bad Weather being over, the Ketch ſailed for *Petit-Guaves*, the Rendezvous of the Fleet, but was unhappily taken in her way by the *Spaniſh* Cruiſers.

I remember that in our Converſations at Fort *Frontenac*, M. *de la Salle* told me ſeveral times, that he would die ſatisfied and contented, could he but make himſelf Maſter of the Mine of St. *Barbe* in *New Mexico;* I gave him no anſwer at firſt, but ſeeing that he repeated it too often, tho' I knew I was a Subject of the King of *Spain*, I could not forbear to expreſs my Affection for my lawfull Sovereign, and told him, that tho' I [7] was with him I had not forgot my Native Country concluding my anſwer with theſe words, *Vincit amor Patriæ*. This was perhaps the firſt cauſe of all the hardſhips and injuſtices I have ſuffer'd ſince that time, and which I might therefore have avoided, had I been capable of diſſembling, as the Generality of Mankind do. But to return to M. *la Salles*, the loſs of the Ketch was of a fatal conſequence to him, not ſo much for the value of the Merchandizes, but becauſe the *Spaniards* had notice of his deſigns againſt their Mines.

M. *la Salles* was hardly recover'd of a dangerous Diſtemper, when thoſe unhappy Tydings were brought to him, and was like to relapſe upon that occaſion; but the reſt of his company being not as couragious as he, were quite diſ-ſpirited, and neglected to keep the Soldiers under a ſevere Diſcipline, who giving up themſelves to the Lewdneſs and Diſſoluteneſs,

ſo common in thoſe Iſlands, contracted ſuch Diſtempers that a great many died before they left *Petit-Guaves*, and the others continued ſickly all their Life. As ſoon as M. *de la Salle* was able to walk abroad, he made his Preparations for leaving the Iſland, and by the aſſiſtance of Monſieur *de St. Laurence* Governour General of the *French* Iſlands, and Monſieur *Begon*, Intendent of the ſame; he put his Fleet in a condition to ſail from thence, *November* 25, 1684, having taken on board all ſorts of Refreſhments, a great quantity of *Indian* Corn, and of all ſorts of tame Beaſts to ſtock the new Country they were going to inhabit.

They ſail'd along the Iſlands of *Caimano*, and touch'd at the Iſland of *Peace* for freſh Water, and from thence ſail'd to St. *Anthony* in the Iſland of *Cuba*, where they anchor'd. The Sweetneſs and Situation of that place invited them to land, and they found a good Store of Refreſhments, and even ſome Wine which the *Spaniards* had left in that place, having run away with too great a Precipitation. They continued there two [8] days, and then ſail'd, ſteering towards the Gulph of *Mexico*.

M. *de la Salle* was a very underſtanding Man, and hardly to be impos'd upon, yet he was deceiv'd by ſome Men of St. *Domingo*, and it was by their advice that he ſteer'd a wrong Courſe. They had told him that the Northern Winds were very dangerous at the entrance of the Gulph, and this fear oblig'd him to return thence upon the Coaſt of *Cuba;* but at laſt he overcame all Difficulties, and got into the Gulph, *January* 1. 1685. and deſcry'd a Fortnight after the Coaſt of

*Florida*, where they were ſurpriz'd by a ſtrong Wind, which parted the Fleet, the *Toby* keeping off from the Coaſt, and the Frigat and the Fly-boat as near the Land as poſſible: they had told him alſo, that the Current of the Gulph runs with a great Rapidity towards the Channel of *Bahama*, but he found himſelf miſtaken, and loſt thereby his Courſe, for thinking he was too far to the North, he ſail'd by the Bay of *Spirito Santo* [Mobile], and overſhot the Mouth of the *Meſchaſipi*. They were undeceiv'd by the Coaſt of the Gulph, which bends in that place to the Southward, and having taken the Elevation of the Pole, they found they were within 50 Leagues of the *Meſchaſipi*. The three Ships joyned again about the middle of *February* in the Bay *di Spirito Santo*, where it was agreed to alter their Courſe; and about 10 Leagues off they found a large Bay, which they called St. *Lewis*.[1] The Proviſions growing ſcarce, the Soldiers were ſent a-ſhore, and M. *de la Salle* founded the Bay, which he found deep, and the bottom a good Anchorage, ſo that the Frigat got in happily on the 18th. The Channel is very deep, but ſomewhat narrow, and there is a Sand at the Mouth of it: M. *de la Salle* took that Bay for the right Arm of the *Meſchaſipi*, and indeed there was much likelihood of it.

[1] Now Matagorda Bay, on the coast of Texas.— Ed.

## [9] CHAP. II.

*An Account of ſeveral Misfortunes that befell M.* de la Salle *at the Bay of St.* Lewis.

M. *LA SALLES* had expreſsly forbid the Captain of the Fly-boat to attempt to come into the Bay, without having on board the Pilot of the Frigat, who was an experienc'd Man; and for a greater ſecurity he had commanded him to unlade his Guns into the Pinnace to make his Ship the lighter; yet that Brute neglected thoſe Orders and Advice, and without taking any notice of the Marks or Poles they had placed on the Sands to ſhew him the Channel, and the Advice of the Seamen, he ſail'd his Ship at random, and ran her againſt a Sand where ſhe remain'd: M. *de la Salle* was a-ſhore, and fearing the fate of his Ship, was going on board to ſave her, but was prevented by about 120 Savages who came to attack him: He put his Men in a poſture of defence, but the noiſe alone of the Drums put the Savages to flight: M. *de la Salle* follow'd them and preſented them the *Calumet* of Peace, which they accepted, and came along with him to his Camp, where he entertain'd them, and ſent them back with ſome Preſents; they were ſo pleas'd, that they brought ſome Proviſions the next day, and made Alliance with M. *de la Salle*, whereby they engag'd themſelves to ſupply him with

ſome Pyrogues or wooden Canou's: That Alliance would likely have prov'd very advantageous to M. *de la Salle*, had not an unforeſeen Accident broke that good Intelligence.

As they were unlading the Fly boat which had ſtruck upon the Sand to endeavour to get her off, a Pack of Blankets fell into the Sea, which the Waves [10] drove upon the ſhore: The Savages found it, and M. *de la Salle* having notice thereof, ſent to demand it of them in a very civil manner. They ſhew'd ſome Reluctancy, whereupon the Officer inſtead of acting the prudent part, threatned to kill them unleſs they reſtor'd it immediately. They were ſo frighted and incens'd againſt them, that they reſolv'd to be aveng'd of that Affront; and in order thereto, got together in the Night time between the 6 and 7 of *March*, and march'd to ſurprize the *French* Camp. They advanc'd as near as they would, the Sentry being aſleep, and made a diſcharge of their Arrows which killed 4 Gentlemen Officers and Volunteers, and wounded M. *Moranger* and another Volunteer. The *French* ran to their Arms, and fired upon the Savages, who run away tho' none was wounded: they found the next day two of M. *de la Salle*'s Men whom they murthered as they were ſleeping.

In the mean time they unladed the Fly-boat, which was too far ſunk to be got off, and ſaved moſt of the Goods, and as they were endeavouring to ſave the reſt, ſhe was daſhed in Pieces by the violence of the Wind and Waves, and ſeveral Men were in great danger of being drowned, but by the Grace of God all eſcap'd.

Monſieur *Beaujeu* ſeeing all the Goods and Merchandizes

landed, and a Fort almoſt finiſhed, ſailed the 12th of *March* for *France*, and M. *de la Salle* having fortified his Magazine or Fort, which they call *Hangar*, left 100 men under the Command of his Nephew M. *Moranger*, for the defence of it; and with the reſt, being 50, and 3 Miſſionaries, *viz.* M. *Cavelier*, and Father *Zenobe* and *Maxime*, advanced into the Country following the Bay, in hopes to find the *Meſchaſipi*.[1] The Captain of the Frigat was ordered to ſound at the ſame time the Channel, and bring his Ship as high as he could with ſafety, which he did, [11] and brought his Ship to an Anchor at a place which was call'd *Hurier*, from the name of the Officer who was left at that place for the Security of that Port, which was abſolutely neceſſary to maintain the Communication between the firſt Habitation, and another M. *de la Salle* made on the 2d of *April* at the bottom of the Bay upon the Banks of a fine River, which was called the River of the *Cows*,[2] becauſe of the vaſt number of thoſe Beaſts that were diſcover'd in thoſe parts. The Savages came to attack our Men, but were ſo warmly receiv'd, that they retir'd without doing the *French* any harm.

On the 21ſt, being *Eaſter*-Eve, M. *de la Salle* return'd to the firſt Camp, and the next day was ſpent in Devotions; but the 23d they began to carry all the Effects from the two Forts, to the Settlement M. *de la Salle* had made upon the River above-mention'd, and when they had made an end of

[1] For detailed account of this expedition of La Salle, and his attempt to found a colony on the shore of the Gulf of Mexico, see Parkman's *La Salle*, pp. 322–387.— Ed.

[2] Now called the Lavaca River.— Ed.

it, they razed the ſaid Forts. They had ſown ſome Pulſe and Corn, but either the Soil was not good, or elſe the Seed was ſpoil'd by Salt Water, for it did not riſe at all. M. *de la Salle* might have remembred what I had formerly told him in our Voyage to the *Illinois*, that Corn and other Seeds which we bring from *Europe*, muſt either be in their Ears or Hulls, for otherwiſe they loſe their Vertue at Sea, and cannot grow in a Soil that was never cultivated before.

They built a Fort in a very advantageous Poſt, with ſo much diligence, that it was in a few days in a good Poſture of Defence, being defended by 12 Pieces of Cannon. They made a great Magazine under ground to preſerve their Goods and Proviſions from Fire. It is to be obſerved that the Forts in *America*, I mean ſuch as I ſpeak of now, require not ſo much Art and Labour, as in *Europe*, ſince the Savages have no Artillery to attack them. They are ſo afraid of Fire-Arms, that none of thoſe Nations ever durſt attack [12] theſe mean Fortifications, except the *Iroquois*, who attempted to force the *French* in their Intrenchments in the Iſland of *Orleans*, now called St. *Lawrence* near *Quebec*. The *French* had fortified themſelves with Palliſadoes, which the *Iroquois* ſet on Fire, and to cover themſelves againſt the *French* in their Approach, every one of them carry'd before him a thick Plank or board Musket-proof, and thereby forced the *French* to leave their Entrenchments. They uſe alſo another Strategem againſt our Forts, unleſs they are defended by ſome Pieces of Cannon to keep them off; they tye to their Arrows a lighted Match, and then ſhoot them in ſuch manner, as to make

them fall on the Top or Roof of the Forts, which is made of Planks, and thereby ſet them on Fire. M. *de la Salle*, who knew all their Artifices, took alſo all imaginable Precautions to diſappoint them, which he did by covering the Roof with green Turf.

In the mean time, his men grew ſo ſickly, that a great many died in a few days, notwithſtanding they were carefully look'd after, and ſupplied with proper Remedies, and beſides this misfortune, he was forc'd to make an open War againſt the Savages. On the 9th of *Auguſt* three of his men were gone a ſhooting, there being abundance of Game in thoſe Parts. The noiſe of their Guns gave notice of their Approach to the Savages, who immediately got together in great numbers and ſurrounded the three *Europeans*, who put themſelves in a readineſs to fight, and killed with the firſt ſhot the General of the Savages. This ſad accident terrified them ſo much, that they ran away, notwithſtanding the Diſproportion in number. They continued lurking about the Fort, and kill'd a *French* man who had advanc'd too far into the Woods.

M. *de la Salle* ſeeing no way to bring them to an Alliance, reſolved to make War upon them to oblige them to come to Peace, and ſupply him with their [13] *Pyrogues* or Wooden Canou's which he wanted. Therefore ſet out from his Fort on the 13th of *October*, with 60 ſtout Men to look for the Savages, having provided them with a kind of Breaſt-piece of Wood, to cover them againſt the Arrows of the Savages. He was not far advanced when he found the Savages

incamped, with whom he had ſeveral Skirmiſhes, killing and wounding a great many, and returned with many Priſoners eſpecially young Children; amongſt whom was a Girl of about four Years of Age, which was Chriſtened, and died ſome Days after.

While M. *de la Salle* was building and perfecting his Fort, thoſe Families he had brought to begin a Colony, grubb'd up the Land, and ſowed ſeveral ſorts of Corn and Pulſe, which they had brought in their Ear and Hulls, which ſucceeded very well. They made ſome Cannons, and croſſed over to the other ſide of the Bay, where they found a fine River, and a prodigious Number of wild Oxen and Turkeys. The tame Beaſts they had brought from St. *Domingo*, as Cows, Hogs, and Fowls multiplied very much; and in ſhort the ſmall Colony began to thrive, ſince the War had removed the Savages from their Habitations, and 'tis likely that M. *de la Salle* would have ſucceeded, had not a new Misfortune worſe than all the former, diſappointed his Noble Deſigns.

M. *de la Salle* had often entertain'd me with the unheard of Cruelties exerciſed by the *Spaniards* in New *Mexico*, and *Peru*, againſt the Inhabitants of thoſe vaſt Empires, whom they deſtroyed as much as ever they could, preſerving only their Children to make new People. He exclaimed againſt that Cruelty of the *Spaniards*, as unworthy of Men of Honour, and contrary to the Doctrine of the Chriſtian Religion. I blamed them my ſelf; but yet I offered now and then ſome Reaſons to excuſe them, as the Neceſſities [14] they found themſelves under of exterminating thoſe Nations, or periſhing

themſelves, and forſaking their Conqueſt; for whenever they thought themſelves ſafe, they were ſuddenly invaded by great Armies, and therefore in a perpetual Danger. M. *de la Salle* experienced himſelf that Neceſſity in *Canada*, for the Savages do not underſtand the Doctrine of forgiving or forgetting Injuries; and notwithſtanding all Treaties of Peace, they will revenge themſelves one time or other. The French of *Canada* have done all that is poſſible, humanly ſpeaking, to gain the Friendſhip of the *Iroquois*, yet they have not been able to heal the firſt Breach that happened between them, which has been the Source of many Wars, which laſts at this very time; whereas that barbarous People has never had any quarrel with the Dutch inhabiting *New York*, becauſe theſe have always uſed them very kindly, diſſembling ſome inſignificant Injuries, or accepting their ſatisfaction. M. *de la Salle* knew better than any Body the Temper of the Savages, and the Methods how to gain them; therefore I wonder that he would make Wars upon the Neighbours of his new Colony, for this was almoſt an infallible way to ruine it, and cut off the hope of the Converſion of thoſe ignorant Nations. From theſe obſervations we may conclude, that Meekneſs and Charity ſo much recommended in the Goſpel, are two Vertues abſolutely neceſſary for the eſtabliſhment of Colonies in thoſe new Countries; for otherwiſe the new Inhabitants muſt deſtroy the Ancient, or be deſtroyed by them, either of which is a cruel Neceſſity unworthy of a Chriſtian. M. *de la Salle* had ordered the Captain of the Frigat to ſound the Bay, and to ſuffer none of his Men to lie a-ſhoar; however the Captain

himſelf, and ſix of his beſt Men being charmed with the Sweetneſs of the Country went a-ſhoar, and leaving their Canou's upon the Owze with their Arms, went into a Meadow where [15] they fell aſleep, and were murthered by the Savages, who broke their Arms and Canou. This ſad Accident put the Colony in a dreadfull Conſternation. M. *de la Salle* having buried his Men, reſolv'd to travel along the Coaſt to find out the Mouth of the *Meſchaſipi*, and having left the Inhabitants and Soldiers who were to remain in the Fort, ſet out with 20 Men, and M. *Cavelier* his Brother.

This Bay of St. *Lewis* is formed by ſeveral Rivers, and lies in the Latitude of 27 Degrees 45 Minutes. None of theſe Rivers was broad and deep enough to be an Arm of the *Meſchaſipi*, but M. *de la Salle* thought they might be Branches of one of the Arms of that River, therefore he reſolved to follow one of them, which coſt him a world of Trouble, for he found ſeveral other Rivers running into that, too deep to be forded, which they croſſed, laying together ſeveral Branches of Trees, of which they made uſe inſtead of Boats. They met with ſeveral Nations of Savages and were forced to entrench themſelves every Night, for fear of being ſurpriſed. The continual Rains that fell during his Voyage, made the ways very bad, and ſwell'd ſeveral ſmall Rivulets, which increaſed his Trouble. At laſt, on the 13th of *February*, he thought to have found his ſo much wiſh'd for River; and having fortified a Poſt on its Bank, and left part of his Men for its ſecurity; he advanced farther into the Country, which appeared unto him the moſt delicious and fertile that ever he

ſaw. He viſited ſeveral Nations who received him with much Humanity, and returned to his Fort on the 31ſt of *March*, charmed with his Diſcovery.

The ſatisfaction he expreſſed upon this account can hardly be expreſſed, but the Grief which the loſs of his Frigat caused him, over-ballanc'd it. This was the only Ship left unto him, with which he intended to ſail in few Days for St. *Domingo*, to [16] bring a new Supply of Men and Goods to carry on his Deſign; but it ran unfortunately a ground through the Negligence of the Pilot, and was daſh'd in pieces. All the Men were drowned except the Sieur *Chefdeville* one of the Miſſionaries, the Captain and 4 Seamen; the Goods, Linen, and Cloath of the Colony, with the Proviſions and Tools were abſolutely loſt. M. *de la Salle* was a Man of an extraordinary Courage, and unparallell'd Conſtancy; yet 'tis likely he would have ſunk under this Misfortune, had not God aſſiſted him in an extraordinary manner.

## CHAP. III.

*A Continuation of the Misfortunes of M.* de la Salle, *with an Account of two Voyages he undertook to find out the Country of the* Illinois.

THOSE who have converſed with Accounts of new Diſcoveries, are convinced that thoſe who take upon them ſo difficult a Task, are obliged to do a thouſand things, which prove uſeleſs and unneceſſary; for looking for the right way, and no body being there to ſhew it unto them, 'tis no wonder if they miſtake it. And as to the Misfortunes that befell the worthy Gentleman I ſpeak of, it is nothing but what he, or any body elſe that ſhall go about the like Enterpriſe, muſt expect with a very inconſiderable Difference. The pious Deſign he was upon, in relation to the Converſion of thoſe ignorant Nations, deſerved it ſeems a better Fate; but as God's ways are not our ways, we muſt ſubmit to Divine Providence, without troubling our ſelves about a vain inquiry into the Secrets of God Almighty. M. *de la Salle* who was a good Chriſtian, knew admirably well the Practice [17] of this Doctrine, and without being dejected by the Misfortunes already mention'd, he reſolved to go on with his Diſcovery.

As I am more concern'd than any body elſe to know

whether M. *de la Salle* had really diſcover'd the *Meſchaſipi*, when he return'd into *Canada* over land, becauſe I am the firſt *European* that ever travell'd upon that River, I have carefully peruſed all the printed Accounts of his Voyage, as alſo private Memoirs, but after all, I found that the account publiſhed by Father *Anaſtaſe* is the moſt exact, and may be depended upon.[1]

M. *de la Salle* ſeeing all his Affairs ruin'd by the loſs of his Ships, and having no way to return into *Europe* but by *Canada*, reſolved upon ſo dangerous a Journey, and took 20 men along with him, with one Savage call'd *Nikana*, that is to ſay, Companion of the Nation of *Choumon*.[2] This man had follow'd him into *France*, and had given ſuch proofs of his Affection to his Maſter on ſeveral nice occaſions, that he relied more upon him than upon any *European*. M. *Cavelier*, M. *Moranger*, and Father *Anaſtaſe* deſir'd likewiſe to accompany him. They took four Pound of Powder, Shot in Proportion, two Axes, two Dozen of Knives, ſeveral Pound of *Raſſade* or Glaſs Beads, and two Kettles to boil their Meat, contenting himſelf with theſe Proviſions, in hopes to find out eaſily the *Illinois* and return in a ſhort time. Having aſſiſted at the divine Service in the Chapel of the Fort to implore God's Mercy and Protection, he ſet out the 22d of

[1] Parkman (*La Salle*, p. 397, *note* 2) regards the narrative of Henri Joutel (Paris, 1713) as the best; Douay's (given in Le Clercq's *Établissement de la Foy*, Shea's trans., ii, pp. 229–282), although brief, agrees therewith in essentials. Jean Cavelier's *Relation* (printed by Shea in 1858) is regarded by Parkman as somewhat inaccurate.— Ed.

[2] A misprint for Chouanon (Shawnese).—Ed.

*April*, 1686 directing his March to the North Eaſt, for the *Meſchaſipi* running directly from the North to the South, into the Gulph of *Mexico*, the Country of the *Illinois* is ſituated to the N. E. of the place where M. *de la Salle* left.

'Tis likely that they wanted Pyrogues and Canou's, ſince Father *Anaſtaſe* makes no mention of any, [18] and 'tis likely that M. *de la Salle* was not ſure that he had found out the Mouth of the *Meſchaſipi*, for then he might have eaſily met with the *Illinois* by means of that River, knowing that the River of the *Illinois* runs into the *Meſchaſipi*.

After three days March, they diſcover'd the fineſt Champaign Country in the World, and were met by a great many men on Horſe-back, with Boots, Spurs and Saddles. This Nation invited them to come to their Habitations, but M. *de la Salle* having taken ſome Informations from them concerning his way, thank'd them for their kindneſs, and would not accept of their Offers. The Reader may judge, that all this was tranſacted by ſigns, for they did not underſtand one another. The Equipage of the Nation ſheweth they had Commerce with the *Spaniards*. Our men having continued their March all the day long, incamp'd upon a riſing ground, which they fortified by cutting down ſome Trees to avoid any Surprize.

Having march'd two days through vaſt Meadows, they came upon the Banks of a River which they called *Robeck*, where they found ſuch numbers of wild Oxen, call'd by the *Spaniards Cibola*, that the leaſt Drove conſiſted of about 400:

They killed ten of them, and reſted two or three days to broil the Meat for the reſt of their Voyage.

Within a League and a half from the *Robeck* they met with another River broader and deeper than the *Seine* before *Paris*, its Banks being adorn'd with great Trees, ſo well diſpos'd by Nature, that they ſeem as many Walks artificially planted. One ſide of the River is cover'd with Woods, and the other is a continued Meadow. They were oblig'd to cut Branches of Trees and tie them together to croſs it over. They call'd it the *Wicked*.[1] The Country between this *Wicked* River and another they met few days after, is full of Trees, bearing all ſorts of Fruit, [19] and eſpecially of Mulberry-trees, but the Vines are ſo common, that the whole ſeems a Vineyard, and the higheſt Trees are cover'd with them. They call'd the laſt River *Hiens*, becauſe one of them, a *German* by Birth, of the Country of *Wirtemburg*, ſtuck ſo faſt in the Mud, that they had much ado to get him off.

The Raft or floating-boat of Branches, which they commonly us'd to croſs the Rivers, taking up much of their time, and this River being narrow, M. *de la Salle* caus'd one of his men to ſwim over with an Ax, to fell down a Tree, while they fell another on their ſide, and theſe two Trees meeting together, made a kind of Bridge; this way was both ſafer and eaſier, and therefore they always made uſe of it, whenever the narrowneſs of the River would permit it.

M. *de la Salle* alter'd here his courſe, marching directly to

[1] Rivière Maligne, on early maps; apparently the Brazos River of Texas.— Ed.

the Eaſtward. As he told no body the reaſons of it, it is impoſſible to know what was his motive; that Man was ſecret to a fault, and likely would have proſper'd better, had he been ſomewhat more communicative. After ſome days March through a pleaſant Country, they found another, which, according to their account, may be call'd the Paradiſe of the World, inhabited by a numerous Nation, who receiv'd them with all imaginable marks of Friendſhip and Kindneſs; their Women embrac'd them chearfully, and caus'd them to ſit upon ſome fine Mats near their Captains, who preſented them their *Calumet* of Peace, adorn'd with Feathers of ſeveral Colours, and wherein they deſir'd them to ſmoak. They preſented them afterwards with a Diſh of *Sagamittee*, which is a kind of Pap made with the Root of a Shrub call'd *Tique* or *Toquo*, which looks like a Briar without Thorns:[1] Its Root is very big, and having waſh'd it and dry'd it by the Sun, they pound it in a Mortar. This *Sagamittee* taſted pretty well. Theſe honeſt [20] Savages preſented them with ſome Skins of wild Oxen finely dreſt and good for Shooes, which are very neceſſary in that Country, becauſe of ſome ſharp cutting Herbs. M. *de la Salle* preſented them, in return of their kindneſs, ſome Glaſs Beads of black Colour, which is much valu'd amongſt them, they continued ſome days amongſt that Nation, which time M. *de la Salle* improv'd to give them ſome Idea of the Grandeur and Power of the King his

[1] Lucien Carr regards this (*Amer. Antiq. Soc. Proc.*, 1895, p. 168) as the tuckahoe, or koonti, of the South. This plant is an underground fungus (*Pachyma cocos*); it is bitter to the taste, but eatable when baked in hot ashes.—Ed.

Maſter, whom he repreſented higher and greater than the Sun. Theſe People underſtood ſomething of it by his Signs, and were ſtruck with a wonderfull Admiration. M. *Cavelier* and Father *Anaſtaſe* endeavour'd alſo to give them ſome Notions of God, but with what ſucceſs no body can tell.

That Nation is call'd *Biskatronge*, but the *Europeans* call'd them the *Weeping*, and their River the River of *Tears*, becauſe when they arriv'd there, thoſe Savages wept for about a quarter of an Hour. They receive ſo all Strangers, whom they think to come from remote Countries, becauſe this puts them in mind of their deceas'd Relations whom they think upon a long Journey, and whoſe return they expect. That honeſt People gave M. *de la Salle* ſome Guides, and ſupply'd his men with whatever they wanted, and croſſed them over their River in their Pyrogues.

They paſſed three or four other Rivers in three days time, and met with no conſiderable adventure, but on the fourth day as they were near a Village, *Nikana* the Savage, who attended M. *de la Salle*, ſhot a wild Goat, which frighted ſo much the Inhabitants of that Village, that they ran away. M. *de la Salle* put his men in a readineſs to fight, and enter'd the ſaid Village, which conſiſted of above 300 Cabbins. They march'd to the moſt conſiderable, wherein they found the Wife of the chief of the Savages, who had been forc'd to ſtay alone becauſe of her great Age. M. *de la* [21] *Salle* made the moſt ſignificant Signs he could think on to let her know that he was a Friend, which being perceiv'd by her three Sons, who advanc'd as near as they could without being

diſcover'd, to obſerve what our men would do, they brought back their men, and offer'd M. *de la Salle* their *Calumet* of Peace, which being accepted, the day was concluded with the Dance of the *Calumet* and other Demonſtrations of Joy.

However M. *de la Salle* did not think fit to truſt himſelf in their hands, and therefore refuſed to lie in their Cabbins and went to encamp among ſome Canes or great Reeds hard by, through which it was impoſſible to come without making a great noiſe. This was a Maſterpiece of Prudence, for otherwiſe they might have been murther'd; for a Band of Savages got together to ſurprize them: The ratling noiſe of the Canes having given notice of their Approach to M. *de la Salle*, he awaked his men, and ſpoke in ſo bold a Tone to the Savages that they retir'd. They left that place the next day, parting from them very civilly, and having march'd ſix Leagues further, they were met by another Band of Savages, who had Ears of *Indian* Corn in their Hands; they embrac'd M. *de la Salle* according to their way, and invited him by Signs to go to their Village, which he conſented to. They made him underſtand, that there was a Nation to the Weſtward who deſtroyed all other men; and by the Description they made, he judged they meant the *Spaniards* of *New Mexico*, with whom this Nation was at War. The Village having notice of the Arrival of M. *de la Salle*, all flock'd about them, expreſſing their joy by Signs and other Poſtures, and making him underſtand that he would oblige them to remain with them to aſſiſt them againſt their Enemies: M. *de la Salle* would not agree to that, but promis'd to return in a

ſhort time, with a greater number of men; [22] and after having made them ſome Preſents and receiv'd other things they gave them, he left that place, the Savages carrying him and all his men over their River in their Pyrogues. This Nation is called *Kirononas.*

They continued their March to the Eaſtward through fine Meadows, and three days after, having left the *Kirononas*, *Nikana* their Savage cry'd out of a ſudden that he was a dead man, having been ſtung by a *Rattle-Snake.* This ſad accident oblig'd them to tarry ſome days in that place: They gave him immediately ſome Orvietan, and having ſcarified the Wound, they apply'd upon it ſome Salt of Vipers, whereby he was recover'd.

## CHAP. IV.

*A Continuation of M.* de la Salle's *Voyage and Diſcovery; and how he was receiv'd by the Savages* Cenis.

THEY march'd ſeveral days without meeting with any Savages or any Accidents, and came to a River very broad and rapid, which they judg'd to be near the Sea: They made a Raft to croſs it, and M. *de la Salle*, and M. *Cavelier*, and part of his men ventur'd upon that floating Boat, which the Rapidity of the Stream carry'd down with ſuch a violence, that they were in few minutes out of ſight, leaving their Comrades on the ſhore under an unſpeakable Grief. Father *Anaſtaſe* comforted them as much as he could, being himſelf under a great affliction; for beſides their Savage, who was of great uſe to them, had loſt his way, and was wandering in the Woods: They continued in that condition all the day, but in [23] the Evening they heard M. *de la Salle* hailing them from the other Shore. Their Raft had been ſtopp'd by a Sand in the middle of the River, which gave them time to recover their ſtrength, in ſo much, that they maſter'd the Current and got happily over; tho' one of them attempting to catch a Branch of a Tree, fell into the Water and was carry'd away. They thought him drown'd, but being an excellent Swimmer, and knowing it was in vain to ſtrive

againſt the Stream, but by degrees he was carry'd down a great way, and at laſt got a-ſhore and rejoyn'd Father *Anaſtaſe* and his Companions, who having eat nothing all day long, were exceeding hungry. They found no Game about them, and wanting all manner of Proviſions, they were reduc'd to a great Extremity: the divine Providence, who takes care of the meaneſt of his Creatures, reliev'd them alſo at this time, two young Eagles fell from a Cedar, which afforded them a Meal, tho' it was but a ſmall matter for ten almoſt ſtarv'd Travellers.

They tarry'd in that place that night, and the next day they endeavour'd to croſs the River, and by the advice of M. *de la Salle*, they made a Raft of Canes, which with the help of two men that ſwam to defend it againſt the Rapidity of the Stream, they got all over except their Savage. Being thus rejoyn'd they march'd two days through a Foreſt of Canes, through which they were forced to cut their way with their Axes, and on the third day they found *Nikana* with three wild Goats already broyl'd, and another which he had juſt kill'd. M. *de la Salle* ordered two or three Guns to be fir'd to ſhew his Joy.

Having refreſh'd themſelves they continu'd their March Eaſtward, travelling through a moſt delicious Country, where they found Savages, who had nothing barbarous but their Name. They met one of them who came from ſhooting with his Wife and Family; [24] he preſented M. *de la Salle* with a Horſe and ſome Fleſh, deſiring him by ſigns to go along with him to his Habitation, and leſt he ſhould have any Suſ-

picion, he left his Wife and Family with him, and went to his Village, where he was accompany'd by *Nikana*, and a Footman of M. *de la Salle*. They return'd two days after with two Horſes loaded with Proviſions, and acquainted their Maſter with the civility of that People, who ſent their chief Commanders and young Warriors to complement them. They were handſomly cover'd with dreſs'd Skins, adorned with Feathers of different Colours. M. *de la Salle* thought fit to advance, and within three Leagues of the Village he met the Savages, who preſented them their *Calumet* of Peace in great Ceremony. They conducted them in triumph to the Cabbin of their General, where a great number of People came to ſee them. M. *de la Salle* obſerv'd that the young Warriours mounted the Guard and were reliev'd by turns. The great civility of that People oblig'd M. *de la Salle* to leave the Village and encamp about two Miles off, for having obſerv'd that the Women were exceeding kind to them, and pretty handſom, he was afraid his men would be debauch'd, which might have been of a fatal conſequence. They tarry'd there four days, and bought ſome Horſes for ſome of our *European* Commodities.

This Village belongs to the *Cenis*,[1] and is one of the moſt populous and largeſt of *America*, being about 20 Leagues long, not in a continued Street, but becauſe the Hamblets are ſo near one another, that the whole looks as if it were but one. Their Cabbins are extraordinary fine, of about 50 Foot

[1] A Pawnee tribe (of the Caddoan family), then located on the Trinity River, Texas, but now extinct.—Ed.

long, and built as Bee-Hives. They plant Trees round-about, whoſe Branches joyn over their Cabins, and which they tie together: Their Beds are placed round-about their Cabins, four Foot higher than the flour, and they [25] make their Fire in the middle. Each Cabin is for two Families. They found amongſt them ſeveral things which they muſt have from the *Spaniards*, as ſome Pieces of Eight, Silver Spoons, Lace, Cloaths and Horſes. They had alſo a Bull of the Pope, exempting the *Spaniards* of *New Mexico* from faſting in Summer time. How they came by it, they could never underſtand. The Horſes are ſo common, that one of M. *de la Salle*'s men had one given him for his Ax, and another offer'd a fine one for Father *Anaſtaſe*'s Capuch. They have however no direct Trade with the *Spaniards*, but get theſe things from the *Choumans*[1] their Allies, who being Neighbours of the *Europeans* are often in War with them. M. *de la Salle* having always the Mines of St. *Barbe* in his Thoughts, deſir'd them by Signs to draw a Map of the Country, and the Courſe of their River, which they underſtood, and with a Piece of Coal, they made on the white Bark of a Tree a Deſcription of their Country and River, that M. *de la Salle* underſtood they were within ſix days journey from the *Spaniards*, whom they knew, their Warriors going often to aſſiſt the *Choumans* againſt them.

M. *de la Salle*, who had a particular art to gain the Friendſhip of the Savages, told them a great many things of the

[1] The Comanches, a Shoshonean tribe, whose habitat was on the upper waters of the Arkansas, Red, and Rio Grande rivers.—Ed.

Grandeur of the King his Maſter, whom he repreſented as the greateſt Captain of the World, and as much above the *Spaniards* as the Sun above the Earth: he gave them an account of his ſignal Victories: At which, ſays Father *Anaſtaſe*, they put their Fingers upon their Mouth to expreſs their Admiration: but ſeeing M. *de la Salle* did not ſpeak their Language, I would fain know how the *Cenis* underſtood the account he gave them of the glorious Actions of the King of *France*. Surely this is a Fiction, or at beſt, too long a Comment upon a Converſation which was acted by ſigns; and Father *Anaſtaſe* [26] might have ſpar'd this Reflection upon the *Spaniards*, for tho' the King of *France* is a great Monarch, yet the King of *Spain* poſſeſſes ſuch Countries in the old and new World, that no Prince can be compar'd to him in that reſpect, and the Motto of the Catholick Kings, *Sol mihi nunquam occidit*, may be more eaſily juſtified, than the *Nec pluribus impar* of the King of *France*. Thoſe who will conſider the extent of the Dominions of the *Spaniards* in the *Weſt-Indies*, will find that they are above 2500 Leagues in length, which I think the great Maſter of M. *de la Salle* can never match.

There were at that time ſome Ambaſſadours of the *Choumans*, at the Village of the *Cenis*, who paid a Viſit to M. *de la Salle*, and at their coming in made the Sign of the Croſs, and kneeling down kiſſed Father *Anaſtaſe*'s Gown, lifting up their Hands to Heaven, and giving them to underſtand, that Men cloathed with like Habits taught their Neighbours.

They made ſuch ſigns as convinced the French that they had been at Maſs; and one of them drew with a Coal a tall Woman weeping at the Foot of the Croſs, for the Death of her Son who was nail'd to it. This he muſt needs have ſeen over an Altar in the Spaniſh Churches, and 'tis no wonder if they knew Father *Anaſtaſe*'s Gown, for the *Franciſcans* are very numerous in that Country. Our Authour adds, that they told M. *de la Salle*, that the *Spaniards* made a great ſlaughter of the *Indians*, and that if he would go along with them with his fire Arms, it would be eaſie to conquer them, ſeeing they are Cowards, and ſo Effeminate as to have two Men before them, when they walk in Summer-time each with a large Fann to refreſh them.

This puts me in mind of ſeveral Converſations which I had with M. *de la Salle*, at Fort *Frontenac* concerning our Diſcoveries, and ſpeaking of Miſſionaries and the Qualities they ought to have, I remember [27] he told me often that the Jeſuits of the Colledge of *Goa* in the Eaſt-Indies, which was given them by a Bp [Bishop] of the Order of St. *Francis*, and whoſe Revenues amount now to a prodigious Summ, travel in a Litter, where they perform this Miſſion, having two Men on each ſide to cool them with a Fann. This he knew from ſome of thoſe Jeſuits themſelves, but as he had left this Society, I did not altogether believe what he told me of it; but I wonder that Father *Anaſtaſe* would charge upon the *Spaniards* of New *Mexico*, what M. *de la Salle* told me of the Jeſuits of *Goa*. The reaſon may be eaſily diſcover'd,

the *Spaniards* will either ſcorn this Reflection, or let it go without Vengeance, whereas the Jeſuits are never affronted with Impunity.

M. *de la Salle* having tarried ſeveral Days among the *Cenis*, continued his March through the Habitations of the *Naſſonis;* theſe two Nations are in confederacy, and divided by a large River,[1] on the Banks of which the Villages are ſituated: They have much the ſame cuſtoms and manners.

Within five Leagues of that Place four of M. *de la Salle*'s men ran away to the *Naſſonis*, which ſadly vex'd him; and few Days after, he together with M. *Moranger* his Nephew, fell ſick of a violent Fever, which obliged our Travellers to tarry in that Place for ſeveral Weeks, for notwithſtanding they recover'd, it was a long time before they were able to continue their Voyage. This Diſtemper diſappointed all their meaſures, and was the occaſion of ſeveral misfortunes that befell them afterwards. They tarried there two whole Months, being reduc'd to the greateſt Extremities; their Powder was moſt ſpent, tho' they were not advanced above 150 Leagues in a direct Line; ſome of their men had deſerted, others began to be irreſolute; and all theſe things being carefully conſider'd by M. *de la Salle*, he reſolved to return to Fort *Lewis*. [28] Every body approv'd his Deſign, and ſo they returned the ſame way without meeting with any remarkable Accident, except that one of them was ſwallowed

[1] Either the Neches or the Sabine River. The Nassonis (Assony) were apparently a Caddoan tribe.— Ed.

by a Crocodile of a prodigious Size, as they repaſſed the *Wicked* River.

They returned to their Camp the 17th of *October* 1686, being received with an incredible Joy by their Companions, who thought them as good as loſt amongſt theſe barbarous Nations.

## CHAP. V.

*A Short Deſcription of Fort* Lewis, *of its advantageous Situation, and of the Fertility of the Country about it.*

WHAT has been already obſerved is enough to ſhew the Character of M. *de la Salle*, and that never Traveller was more undaunted, and conſtant in his undertakings than him. All the misfortunes and accidents we have mention'd, were not enough to deject his Courage, nor deterr him from his former Deſigns, in which through the Grace of God he expected to ſucceed.

He remained two Months and a half at Fort *Lewis*, during which time he took a view of all the Rivers that run into that Bay, and found above 50 which are Navigable, if we may believe Father *Anaſtaſe*, who was with him: They come moſt of them from the Weſt and North-Weſt. The Fort is ſituated in a ſandy Ground, but the Soil about is very fertile. There are large Meadows in which the Graſs grows as high as our Wheat in *Europe*. Theſe Rivers are very frequent, being commonly at 2 or 3 Leagues diſtance. Their Banks are adorn'd with Oak, Mulberry-Trees, [29] and other Sorts of Trees, ſome whereof are altogether unknown in *Europe*. The Country is all alike going to the Weſtward, till within two Day's Journey of the *Spaniards*.

This Fort is ſituated on a riſing Ground, on the Bank of

a River, having the Sea to the South-Eaſt, the Meadows to the Weſt, and two large Ponds, and a Foreſt to the South-Weſt; the neareſt Neighbours are the *Guoaquis*, who have abundance of Horſes, and the *Bahamos* and *Guinets*, who are wandering Nations, with whom M. *de la Salles* was in War. He forgot nothing during that time to comfort his ſmall Colony, which began to multiply, ſeveral Children being born ſince their Arrival. He imployed his men about grubbing up the Lands, which as I have ſaid, proved very good and fertile. In the mean time our Miſſionaries applied themſelves to the Inſtruction of ſome Savage Families, who left their own Nation to live with the *Europeans*. M. *de la Salle* us'd them with all poſſible kindneſs, knowing how advantageous it would be to win thoſe barbarous Nations over to his Intereſt.

M. *de la Salle* having caſt up an Intrenchment about a large Incloſure, wherein were the Habitations of the Colony, under the Cannon of the Fort, and taken all other precautions for their Security, called the Inhabitants together, and made ſo pathetical a Speech to them about the Neceſſity he was under to make a Voyage to the *Illinois* Country, that he drew Tears from every one of the Aſſembly, conſidering the Danger and Fatigue of ſo great a Voyage, for he was very much beloved. He took 20 men with him with his Brother, his two Nephews, Father *Anaſtaſe*, and one *Jouſtel à Ploto;* and after publick Prayers, he ſet out a ſecond time from Fort *Lewis*, reſolv'd not to return till he had found the *Illinois*.

## [30] CHAP. VI.

*An Account of M.* de la Salle's *ſecond Voyage, from the Bay of St.* Lewis, *to the* Illinois.

M. *DE LA SALLE* with 20 men ſet out from his Fort on the 7th of *January* 1687, and met the firſt Day a great Band of *Bahamos*, who were going upon a military Expedition againſt the Savages, called *Trigoanna*. He made alliance with them, and deſigned to do the like with the *Guinets*, whom he met alſo, but they ran away upon his approach: However having overtaken them by means of his Horſes, they agreed together, and promiſed on both ſides an inviolable Peace.

They continued their March to the North-Eaſt, and croſſed the firſt River, which they had called before the River of *Canes*, becauſe the Banks of it are covered with them. The Country is diverſified with Meadows and Woods, and the Soil is ſo fertile, that Graſs grows 10 or 12 Foot high. There are ſeveral populous Villages of Savages upon that River, but they viſited only the *Guaras* and *Anachorema*. They croſſed the ſecond River of *Canes*, diſtant 3 Leagues from the former.[1] Its Banks are inhabited by ſeveral different Nations, and the Country is full of Hemp which

[1] Probably the Colorado of Texas.—Ed.

grows naturally in thoſe Parts. They met 5 Leagues further another River call'd *Sablonniere*, becauſe it flows through a ſandy ground, tho' the Graſs of the Meadows near its Banks ſheweth the Fertility of the Soil.

Having paſſed three or four ſmall Rivers, they found 8 Leagues from the *Sablonniere* the River *Robeck*,[1] whoſe Banks are peopled with ſeveral Villages of Savages, who ſpeak, in a manner from their Throat. They are in War with the *Spaniards*, and deſir'd M. [31] *de la Salle* to joyn with them, but he had buſineſs elſe where, and with 20 men alone he was not able to do any great things againſt the *Spaniards*. He remain'd five or ſix days with them, and from thence continued his march to the *Wicked* River, ſo called, becauſe a Crocodile had devour'd one of his men. That River has a long courſe, and is inhabited by 40 Villages of Savages, which compoſes the Nation *Kanoatinno*, which are likewiſe at War with the *Spaniards*. They went through ſome of their Villages where they were kindly receiv'd; tho', if we may believe Father *Anaſtaſe*, the cruelties of the *Spaniards* have ſomewhat chang'd their good Nature into fierceneſs. This, I take to be M. *de la Salle*'s Opinion; for in all his Travels he endeavoured to repreſent the *Spaniards* as the moſt odious and cruel Nation in the World. I muſt own, as I have already intimated, that the *Spaniards* were forc'd to deſtroy ſeveral Nations in *New Mexico*, but they were oblig'd to it to preſerve themſelves againſt them, for elſe the Natives

[1] Thus named from a river in the vicinity of Rouen, France; it may have been the St. Bernard.— Ed.

would have deſtroy'd them. 'Tis certain, that the Savages have no kindneſs for the *Europeans*, and keep fair with them, only as long as they fear them. But I wonder, that M. *de la Salle* ſhould blame ſo much the *Spaniards*, and yet form the Enterprize he was about, ſeeing it was impoſſible for him to ſucceed without deſtroying the *Spaniards* themſelves; and as to their Tyranny, I remember to have convinc'd him more than once, that the *Spaniſh* Domination is eaſier and milder than any other he could name.

M. *de la Salle* having got ſome Horſes from thoſe Savages, croſſed the River in Canou's made of Skins of wild Oxen, the Horſes ſwimming over; and four Leagues from thence croſs'd the River *Hiens* or *Hans*, already mention'd, continuing their march to the North-Eaſt. They croſs'd ſeveral other Rivers and Brooks, which were mightily ſwoln by the Rains [32] that fall in that Country about that time, which is their Winter, the difference of Seaſons being only known by thoſe Rains. The Country they travell'd through is diverſified with Meadows, Woods, Groves, Hills and Springs. They came at laſt to three great Villages call'd *Taraha*, *Tyakappan* and *Palonna*, where they found good Horſes. They met ſome Leagues further the *Palaqueſſons*, a People compos'd of ten Villages. Theſe are in Alliance with the *Spaniards*.

I cannot but wonder at Father *Anaſtaſe*'s neglecting to make a more exact Diary of their Voyage, and to be more particular about ſo many different Nations he ſpeaks off, and therefore I deſire the Reader to give me leave to make now

and then ſome Reflections upon this Voyage of M. *de la Salle*, having ſo intimately known that Gentleman, and travell'd ſo long with him in *America*. My Deſcription of *Louiſiana*, which I printed at *Paris*, did him a very great kindneſs in relation to his Enterprize.

## [33] CHAP. VII.

*M.* de la Salle *and three more are unfortunately murther'd by ſome of their own Party.*

AFTER they had gone through ſo many different Nations as is above related, there fell out a moſt unhappy Accident, to wit, the Aſſaſſination of M. *de la Salle*, his Nephew *Moranger*, and ſome others. M. *de la Salle* was then in a fine Country for hunting: His People regal'd themſelves very plentifully, and refreſh'd themſelves after their tireſome Travel with excellent good Chear for ſeveral days together: He had ſent M. *Moranger* his Nephew, his Laquey *Saget*, and ſeven or eight of his men to a certain place, where *Nika* his Huntsman, who was a Savage *Chaouenon* had laid up a ſtock of wild Bulls Fleſh, that they might get it ſmoak'd and dry'd to carry along with them, and ſo not be oblig'd to halt ſo frequently to hunt for Proviſions.

With all his Prudence, M. *de la Salle* could not diſcover the Conſpiracy of ſome of his People to kill his Nephew, for they reſolv'd upon it, and put it in Execution all of a ſudden on the 17th of *March*, wounding him in the head with a Hatchet. The Blow was ſtruck by a Perſon whom Father *Anaſtaſius* out of Charity would not name; they ſlew likewiſe the Laquey and poor *Nika*, who had provided for them by

P: 33.

*The Murther of Mons.r de la Salle*

*M. Vander Gucht Scul:*

his Hunting for three years together with toil and danger: *Moranger* languiſhed under his Wound for two Hours, during which time, he gave all poſſible tokens of his Piety, forgiving his Murtherers, and embracing them frequently, reſigning himſelf up to God's good Pleaſure, and relying upon his Saviour's Merits, as his very Murtherers acknowledg'd, when their [34] Rage was cool'd: He was a very honeſt man and a good Chriſtian.

Theſe Wretches not content with this bloody Fact, reſolv'd not to ſtick there, but contriv'd how to kill their Maſter too, for they fear'd he would have juſtly puniſh'd them for their Crime. Father *Anaſtaſius* ſays, They were two Leagues off the place where *Moranger* was kill'd, and that M. *de la Salle* being concern'd at his Nephews tarrying ſo long (for they had been gone two or three days) was afraid they might have been ſurpriz'd by ſome Party of the Savages; whereupon he deſir'd Father *Anaſtaſius* to go with him to look after his Nephew, and took two Savages along with him; upon the way M. *de la Salle* entertain'd 'em with a pious Diſcourſe of Grace and Predeſtination; but chiefly he enlarg'd upon the great Obligations he was under to divine Providence for preſerving him in the many dangers he had undergone during a twenty Years abode in *America*, nine of which he ſpent in travelling, and I with him; he ſeem'd to be peculiarly affected with God's Goodneſs to him, when all of a ſudden, Father *Anaſtaſius* obſerv'd that he fell into a deep Sorrow of which he himſelf could give no account; he grew mighty unquiet and full of trouble, a temper he was

never ſeen in before; Father *Anaſtaſius* did all he could to recover him out of it.

They were got about two Leagues, when he found his Lacquey's bloody Cravat, and perceiv'd two Eagles (a common Bird in thoſe parts) hovering over his head, at the ſame time he ſpied his People by the Water-ſide: he went up to them and enquired for his Nephew, they made him little anſwer, but pointed to the place where he lay. Father *Anaſtaſius* kept going on by the River ſide, till at laſt they came to the fatal place, where two of the Villains lay hid in the Graſs, one on one ſide, and one on the other, with [35] their Pieces cock'd, the firſt preſented at M. *de la Salle* but miſs'd Fire, the other fired at the ſame time, and ſhot him into the head, of which he dy'd an Hour after, *March* 19. 1687.[1]

Father *Anaſtaſius* expected the ſame fate, but did not reflect upon the danger he was in; he was ſenſibly touch'd at this cruel Spectacle, ſeeing M. *de la Salle* fall a little way off from him with his Face all bloody; he ran to him, took him up in his Arms, and wept over him, exhorting him as well as he could in this Conjuncture to die like a good Chriſtian; the unfortunate Gentleman had been at his Devotions juſt before they ſet out, and had juſt time enough to confeſs part of his Life to Father *Anaſtaſius*, who gave him Abſolution, and ſoon after he died: In theſe his laſt Moments he perform'd as far as he was capable what ſoever was proper for one in his condition, he preſs'd the Father's hand at every

[1] On early eighteenth-century maps, the locality of the assassination is marked on a southern branch of Trinity River.— Ed.

thing he ſaid to him, eſpecially when he admoniſh'd him to forgive his Enemies; mean while the Murtherers ſtruck with Horror at what they had committed, began to beat their Breaſts, and deteſt their Raſhneſs. Father *Anaſtaſius* would not ſtir from the place till he had bury'd the Body as decently as he could, and plac'd a Croſs over his Grave.

Thus fell the Sieur *Robert Cavelier de la Salle*, a Man of conſiderable Merit, conſtant in Adverſities, fearleſs, generous, courteous, ingenious, learned and capable of every thing; he labour'd for twenty years together to civilize the ſavage Humours and Manners of a great number of barbarous People among whom he travell'd, and had the ill hap to be maſſacred by his own Servants, whom he had enrich'd: he dy'd in the Vigour of his Age in the middle of his Courſe, before he could execute the deſigns he had form'd upon *New Mexico*.

## [36] CHAP. VIII.

*The Author's Reflections upon the Life and Death of M.* de la Salle, *whose Murtherers kill'd one another.*

M. *DE LA SALLE* told me ſeveral times, whilſt we were together in Fort *Frontenac*, before we went upon our Diſcoveries, and alſo when we were in purſuit of them, that when he was a Jeſuit, having liv'd 10 or 11 years in that Order, the Fathers of that Society caus'd frequent Lectures to be read during the firſt two Years to all thoſe that enter'd into the Society, of the tragical Deaths and fatal Miſcarriages that overtook ſuch as had quitted their Order; and this was done to fix thoſe that were newly entred; I ought to ſay this out of Juſtice to M. *de la Salle*, who formerly depoſited in my hands all his Papers, whilſt he took a Voyage to *France*, and I ſtaid at Fort *Frontenac*, that he quitted his Order with the conſent of his Superiours, and that he had written Teſtimonials of his good Conduct during his ſtay in that Society. He ſhew'd me a Letter written at *Rome* by the General of that Order, wherein he teſtified that the ſaid Sieur *de la Salle* had behav'd himſelf prudently in every thing without giving the leaſt occaſion to be ſuſpected guilty of a venial Sin.

I have a hundred times reflected upon what he has ſaid to me, when we entertain'd our ſelves with the Stories of our

new Diſcoveries, and I ador'd God for the unſearchableneſs of his ways, who accompliſhes his Will by thoſe means he is pleaſed to appoint; and uncertain as I was of my Deſtiny, I gave my ſelf up to his good pleaſure, reſolv'd to ſubmit patiently in every thing to his divine Providence. Father *Anaſtaſius* [37] arriv'd at length where was M. *Cavelier*, a Prieſt, Brother of the Defunct M. *de la Salle*, to whom he related his Death, the Murtherers came rudely into the ſame Cabbin or Hut preſently after, and ſeiz'd upon all they found in it, the good Father had not leiſure for a long Harangue, but his Countenance bath'd in Tears, was a ſufficient Intimation of what he had to ſay: M. *Cavelier* at firſt ſight of him, cry'd out, ah! my Brother is dead. I cannot forbear preſenting the publick with ſome account of this Prieſt, M. *Cavelier*, with whom I ſojourn'd in *Canada* during one Summer of my Miſſion to Fort *Frontenac*, of which his Brother was Governour and Proprietor. He was a pious and diſcreet Eccleſiaſtick, perfectly qualified for a Miſſionary: He no ſooner heard this fatal News, but he fell down upon his Knees, and ſo did the Sieur *Cavelier* his Nephew, expecting the Villains came to butcher them, and therefore prepar'd themſelves to die like Chriſtians; but the Aſſaſſines mov'd with Compaſſion at the ſight of the venerable old Man, and being ſorry beſides for their late wicked Deeds, reſolv'd to ſpare them, upon condition that they ſhould never return into *France*, but they were a long time e'er they fixt upon granting them Mercy; ſome of them that had a mind to ſee their Kindred once again, endeavour'd as well as they could

to clear themſelves from ſo deteſtable an Action; others ſaid, 'twas ſafeſt to rid their hands of theſe two innocent men, or elſe they might one day call them to an account, if ever they met again in *France*.

They choſe for their Leader the Murtherer of M. *de la Salle*, and upon Deliberation they reſolv'd to go to the famous Nation of the *Cenis* already ſpoken of; ſo they march'd altogether for ſeveral days, and paſs'd divers Rivers. Theſe infamous Murtherers made the two *Caveliers* ſerve them as Valets, and gave them nothing but their leavings to eat. They arriv'd without [38] any rub at the place they wiſh'd for. A Conteſt riſes betwixt a *German* of *Wittemburg*, nam'd *Hans*, and him that murther'd M. *de la Salle*, about the Superiority of Command, upon this their men divide themſelves into two Parties, one follows *Hans*, the other the Murtherer. They were come away from the *Cenis* amongſt whom they tarry'd ſome time, and arriv'd at the *Naſſonis*, where the four Deſerters whom I mention'd before, rejoyn'd them. Thus they were all got together upon *Aſcenſion Eve*, and the Quarrel betwixt the two Parties, being blown up to that height, that they determin'd to murther one another, Father *Anaſtaſius* made an Exhortation to them upon the Feſtival day, with which they ſeem'd to be ſo touch'd, that they made as if they would confeſs themſelves; but they did not continue long in that mind. Thoſe that moſt regretted their Maſters murther, took to *Hans*'s ſide. This man two days after taking his opportunity, puniſh'd one crime with another, for he fir'd a

Piſtol at the Murtherer of M. *de la Salle*, the Bullet peirc'd his Heart, and he drop'd dead upon the place. One of *Hans*'s Crew ſhot him that kill'd M. *Moranger* in the ſide, and before he could well recover himſelf, another let fly juſt at his Head, there was no Ball in his Musket, but the Powder ſet fire to his Hair, which catch'd his Shirt and Cloaths with ſo much violence and quickneſs, that he could not put it out, but expir'd in the Flame. The third Conſpirator took to his Heels and ſav'd himſelf; *Hans* was mighty eager to make ſure of him, and finiſh in his Death, the vengeance due to M. *de la Salle;* but the Sieur *Joutel* made 'em Friends, and ſo the matter reſted for that time.

Thus *Hans* became the chief Leader of this miſerable Troop; they reſolv'd to return to the *Cenis*, amongſt whom they deſign'd to ſettle, for they durſt not venture back into *Europe* for fear of meeting the puniſhment [39] their Crimes deſerv'd: At that time the *Cenis* were up in arms and ready to march out to fight with the *Kanoatinno* a cruel People, their implacable Enemies. When they take any Priſoners, they throw them alive into a Caldron and boyl them. The *Cenis* then took *Hans* and ſome other *Europeans* along with them, the reſt waited till they ſhould return, though *Hans* would fain have perſwaded them all to go, but they would not ſtir. When *Hans* was gone, they departed out of the Country of the *Cenis*, and amongſt 'em were the two *Caveliers*, the Sieur *Joutel*, Father *Anaſtaſius* and others; each had his Horſe, Powder, and Lead, with ſome Goods to defray their

Charges upon the way; they made a halt in the Country of the *Naſſonis* to celebrate the *Octave* of *la fete dieu.* In their Relations, they ſay, that the people entertain'd them perpetually with Stories of the Cruelty of the *Spaniards* towards the *Americans*, and told them twenty ſeveral Nations were going to make war upon the *Spaniards*, and invited them to go along with them, becauſe, ſaid they, you will do more execution with your Guns, than all our Warriors with their Maces and Arrows. But they had other deſigns in their Heads, and took occaſion in theſe Diſcourſes to give them to underſtand that they were come amongſt them by expreſs order from God, to inſtruct them in the knowledge of the Truth, and ſet them right in the way to Salvation, and this was their employment for 10 or 12 days to the 3d of *June.*

I make no queſtion, but M. *Cavelier* the Prieſt, and Father *Anaſtaſius* endeavour'd to their utmoſt to give light to theſe *Naſſonis* and deliver them out of their ignorance. But the four other *Europeans* that were in their company were not enough in number to terrifie the *Spaniards* who are us'd to fire-arms; beſides they did not underſtand the Language of theſe [40] People, and therefore I cannot eaſily comprehend how they could gather from the Diſcourſe of theſe *Naſſonis*, that the *Spaniards* were ſo cruel to the *Americans;* they had no Interpreters along with them, ſo that they could not underſtand a word of what was ſaid to them by theſe People, who had never ſeen any other *Europeans* before them.

Moreover 'tis certain, that ſince the days of the Emperour

*Charles* the Fifth, the *Spaniards* have not dar'd to execute any Cruelties upon the Natives of *New Mexico*, becauſe they have too few of their own Subjects to guard their Conqueſts againſt the inſults of their neighbouring *Indians*, were they irritated. No, they live peaceably with them, and trouble no body, unleſs they are firſt attack'd.

## [41] CHAP. IX.

*The* Cenis *permit M.* Cavelier *the Prieſt, and Father* Anaſtaſius *with their Company, to continue their Journey thorough ſeveral barbarous Nations.*

THE *Cenis* gave theſe ſix *Europeans* two Savages for Guides, who took their way thorough the fineſt Country in the World Northwards, and North-Eaſtwards; they paſs'd over four great Rivers, and many Channels made by the Rain, inhabited by divers Nations Eaſtward, they came among the *Haquis*, the *Nabiri*, or the *Naanſi*, a valiant People at War with the *Cenis*, at length they arrived near the *Cadodacchos*,[1] *June* the 13th, one of their Guides went before to inform the Barbarians of their coming. The chief Men and the Youth, whom they found a League from their Village, receiv'd them with the *Calumet*, and gave them ſome Tobacco; ſome led their Horſes by the Bridle, and others carried them about in Triumph; they ſaid they were Spirits come from the other World.

All the Village being come together, the Women according to their Cuſtom waſh'd their Heads and Feet with warm Water, after which they were ſeated upon a Bench cover'd

[1] The Caddoes, on Red River.—ED.

with neat white Mats; then they went to revelling, dancing to the *Calumet*, and made other publick rejoycings Day and Night. Theſe People knew nothing of the *Europeans* but by Report, 'tis to be preſum'd they have ſome ſhadow of Religion amongſt 'em, but all their *Ideas* are very confus'd, and their Notions unaccountable, they ſeem to worſhip the Sun, becauſe they ſend up the Smoak of their Tobacco to him, though they have their [42] ſhare on't; their Ceremonial Habits have commonly two Suns deſcribed upon them, and upon the reſt of the Body repreſentations of wild Bulls, Deer, Serpents, or other Animals; the two religious *Europeans* took occaſion from hence, to give them ſome Leſſons concerning the true God, and the principal Myſteries of Chriſtianity; 'tis to be ſuppos'd all this was done by Signs.

In this place God afflicted them by a Tragical Accident, the Sieur *Marne* maugre all Diſſwaſions, would needs bath himſelf, *June* the 24th at Night. M. *Cavelier*, Nephew to M. *de la Salle* went along with him to the River-ſide, which lies pretty near the Village. *Marne* threw himſelf into the Water, and never came up again. 'Twas a Whirlpool that ſuck'd him in, and drowned him in a moment.

A little after his Body was drawn out of the Water, and carried to the Captain's Houſe; all the Village lamented his Death: The Captain's Wife wrapt him up decently in a handſome Mat, while ſome young Men dug a Grave for him, which Father *Anaſtaſius* bleſt; and then they committed him to the Earth with all poſſible Solemnity. The *Barbarians*

admir'd the Ceremonies of his Interment, and above all, the ſinging of the Pſalms at his Obſequies. Upon this they offer'd them inſtructions about the immortality of the Soul, and continued to teach them for Eight days, for ſo long they tarried after in that fatal Place; the dead Man was buried upon an Eminence near the Village, his Grave was fenc'd about with Palliſado's, and a great Croſs ſet up over it which was made by the Savages: They departed out of this Country, *July* the 2d.

Theſe People dwell upon the Side of a River, where three other Nations inhabit, the *Natchoos*, *Natchetes* and *Ouidiches*. The Travellers were receiv'd very kindly by all of them. From the River of [43] the *Cenis*, where they firſt met with Beavers and Otters; the farther they advanced Northward, the greater Number they found of thoſe Animals. Whilſt they ſojourned among the *Ouidiches*, they met with three Warriours of two Nations call'd the *Cahinnio*, and the *Mentous*, who dwelt twenty five Leagues farther, Eaſt-North-Eaſt, and had ſeen ſome Frenchmen. They offer'd to conduct 'em to their Countrymen, and by the way they croſs'd four Rivers and Brooks, or Torrents made by the Rain, there they were receiv'd by theſe Nations with the *Calumet* of Peace in their Hands, with all poſſible Tokens of Gladneſs and Eſteem. Many of theſe Savages talkt to 'em of an *European*, who was a Captain, and had but one Hand; this was the Sieur *de Tonti* a Neapolitan, mention'd in my firſt Volume. They added, that he told 'em, that a greater Captain than himſelf would

probably paſs by their Village; meaning the Sieur *de la Salle.*

The chief Man among them lodg'd them in his Cabbin or Hutt, and made his Family go out of it; there they were treated ſeveral Days with all ſorts of good Cheer. Nay, they order'd a ſolemn Feaſt to be kept publickly, wherein they danc'd to the *Calumet* four and twenty Hours together, and ſung Songs made purpoſely for the occaſion, which their Captain dictated to them as loud as he could, they entertain'd 'em as Envoys from the Sun, who came to defend them from their Enemies with Thunderbolts, meaning their Muſquets which they had never ſeen before; in the heat of these rejoycings the younger *Cavelier* let off his Piſtol three times, crying out *Vive le Roy*, which the Barbarians repeated with a loud Voice; adding, long live the Sun.

Theſe Savages have a prodigious Number of Beavers and Otters in their Country, which might be eaſily exported by a River near the Village; theſe [44] Savages would have loaded their Horſes with them, but they refus'd them to ſhew they were free from any Self deſign, and preſented the Barbarians with Hatchets and Knives; at laſt they went away with two *Cabinnio*'s to guide them; after they had receiv'd the Ambaſſadours from the *Analau*, the *Tanico*, and other Nations Northweſt, and South Weſtward, they travers'd for ſome Days the fineſt Country in the World full of Rivers, Meadows, little Woods, Hills, and Vineyards.

Among others they croſs'd over four large Navigable Rivers, and after a March of about ſixty Leagues, they came

to the *Oſſotteoez*,[1] who dwell upon a Noble River running from the North-Weſt, upon whoſe Banks grow the fineſt Woods in the Univerſe.

The Skins of Beavers and Otters are every where found in ſo great a Quantity, as well as all other kinds of Hides and Skins of Beaſts, that they throw 'em all in a heap and burn them, of ſo little value are they accounted. 'Tis upon the famous River of the *Akanſa* that ſo many Villages ſtand, as I mention'd in the firſt Tome of my Diſcoveries.

Father *Anaſtaſius* ſays in his Relation, that there they began to know where-abouts they were: At the ſame time he knew very well, that neither he nor any Man in his Company had ever been upon the River *Meſchaſipi*: Indeed I went up it by my ſelf, with two Indians in a Canou in 1680, and afterwards in 1682, M. *de la Salle* went up it as high as *Akanſa*: 'Tis highly probable, Father *Anaſtaſius* thought he was then at Fort *Crevecœur*, ſituated in the Country of the *Illinois*, becauſe he found a great Croſs there, and beneath it the King of *France*'s Arms; beſides he ſaw a Houſe built after the *European* way, and upon this the Sieur *Joutel*, and two more that were left diſcharged their Muſquets. At the Noiſe of the Guns out came two French *Canadans*, their Commander's [45] Name was M. *Couture*,[2] whom I knew particularly well

[1] The U-zû-ti-û-hi (in nomenclature of U. S. Bureau of Ethnology; called by early writers Sitteou or Sauthois); a division of the Siouan Kwapa (Kappa) tribe (see p. 177, *note* 1, *ante*).—Ed.

[2] Couture, a carpenter from Rouen, had accompanied Tonty in his fruitless search for La Salle (in the spring of 1686). Tonty left six of his men at the Indian villages on the Arkansas River; among these was Couture.—Ed.

when I lived in *Canada*, and was one that made the Voyage along with us to diſcover the *Louiſiana*. This M. *Couture* gave them to know, that he was Poſted there by the Sieur *de Tonti*, by order of M. *de la Salle*, to keep up an Alliance with the Neighbouring Savage Nations, and guard them againſt the Inſults of the *Iroquois*, their ſworn Foes.

They viſited three Villages, the *Forimans*, the *Dodinga*,[1] and the *Kappa;* they receiv'd 'em every where with Feaſts, Speeches, Dances, and all other Expreſſions of Joy. They were lodg'd in the Houſe belonging to this ſmall Fort. Theſe of *Canada* that were ſettled there entertain'd 'em very kindly, and made them Maſters of all. Whatever Affairs theſe Savages conteſted about they never decided them immediately, but ſummon'd together the Chief men, and the moſt Ancient of the Villages, and deliberated upon the matter in diſpute. Theſe Travellers ask'd them for a *Pyrogue*, and ſome Savages in it to go up the River *Meſchaſipi*, as far as the *Illinois*, by the River of that Nation, which in my Map of *Louiſiana*, I call the River of *Seignelay*, in honour to the Miniſter of State of that Name, who favour'd and took care about our Diſcovery. Father *Anaſtaſius* ſays they offer'd their Horſes, ſome Powder and Lead in exchange for the *Pyrogue*. After the Counſel had met upon this Subject, they came to a reſolution to grant them the *Pyrogue* they demanded, and four Savages to man it, one of each Nation to ſignify the

[1] These names are more correctly given by the Jesuit Paul de Poisson (*Jes. Relations*, lxvii, p. 319), as Tourimas and Tougingas; they also were Kwapa bands.— Ed.

ſtrict Alliance they had made with them. This was punctually executed, ſo they diſmiſs'd the *Cahinnio* with Preſents to their ſatisfaction.

Upon this Head I would obſerve, without pretending to reflect upon M. *de la Salle*, that he undoubtedly never found out the true Mouth of the River *Meſchaſipi*, nor Father *Anaſtaſius* neither, who never [46] was in that Part of the Country; and if the laſt did luckily light upon it by help of the Savages that guided him, 'twas owing to the Directions he receiv'd from M. *Couture*, Commander of the Skonce[1]; but it may be he will give us more light into this matter hereafter.

[1] Apparently a misprint for Akansa.—Ed.

## CHAP. X.

*The Voyage of the Sieur* Cavelier *a Prieſt, and Father* Anaſtaſius *a Recollect in a* Pyrogue *to the* Illinois, *and ſeveral Obſervations concerning their Return.*

AFTER they had tarried a little time among theſe People, M. *Cavelier*, and Father *Anaſtaſius*, Embarked in the River of *Meſchaſipi*, *Aug.* 1. they croſſed the River the ſame Day in a *Pyrogue* of 40 Foot long. The ſtream was very ſtrong in that Place, ſo they went all a-ſhoar to travel the reſt of the Journey on Foot, becauſe they had left their Horſes at *Akanſa*, though they had done better perhaps to have kept them: They left no Soul in the *Pyrogue* but young *Cavelier*, whoſe tender Age joyn'd with the Fatigue of travelling ſo far, made him uncapable of proſecuting the Journey on Foot. Father *Anaſtaſius* thinks that from the place where they ſet out to the *Illinois*, they had 400 Leagues to march a foot before they could get thither; but all this is ſpoken by gueſs.

One of the Savages went aboard the *Pyrogue* to ſteer it along the River, and one of his Comerades reliev'd him from time to time. The reſt of the Company made no uſe of the *Pyrogue*, but only when they had occaſion to avoid a dangerous Place, or croſs any Rivers; [47] they underwent a great deal of Toil in this Voyage, the Heats were exceſſive in that

ſeaſon, the ſand was burnt by the Sun, but more than all, the want of Food, which they endur'd ſeveral days, reduc'd 'em to extreme hardſhip.

Father *Anaſtaſius* adds, That they were got 200 Leagues over land from the Bay of St. *Louis*, that is to ſay, 100 Leagues to the *Cenis*, 60 to the North North-Eaſt, and 40 to the Eaſt North-Eaſt: from the *Naſſonis* to the *Cadodacchos* 40 North North-Eaſtward, from the *Cadodacchos* to the *Cahinnio* and the *Mentous* 25 to the Eaſt North-Eaſt, and from the *Cahinnio* to the *Akanſa* 60 Eaſt North-Eaſt.

They continued their Progreſs up the River by the ſame way, that they had heard M. *de la Salle* went in 82, except that they went to *Sicacha*.[1] Father *Anaſtaſius*, ſays M. *de la Salle* was not there. I made mention of this Nation in my Diſcovery in 80, in the preceding Volume; their principal Village is twenty five Leagues Eaſt from *Akanſa*. The People are robuſt and numerous, conſiſting at leaſt of 4000 fighting Men: They have abundance of all ſorts of Skins and Hides. Their Leaders often brought the *Calumet* to them to ſignifie that they were willing to make an Alliance with them; nay they offer'd to go and ſettle themſelves upon the River *Ouabache* to be nearer Fort *Crevecœur* in the Country of the *Illinois*, whither they were travelling.

This famous River of *Ouabache* [Ohio] is full as large as *Meſchaſipi;* a great many other Rivers run into it, the outlet where it diſcharges it ſelf into *Meſchaſipi* is 200 Leagues

[1] A village of the Chicasas; the distance here given would locate it on the Yazoo River.— Ed.

from *Akanſa* according to M. *de la Salle*'s Computation; the truth is it is not ſo far croſs the Country, but it may be as much in following the courſe of the River *Meſchaſipi*, which winds about very much. Straight over land 'tis not above 5 good days journey.

[48] They croſs'd the River *Ouabache*, *Auguſt* 26. and found it full 60 Leagues along the River *Meſchaſipi* to the mouth of the River of the *Illinois*, about 6 Leagues below the mouth of that River North-Weſtward, is the famous River of the *Maſſourites* or the *Oſages*, which is as large at leaſt as the River it falls into. It is made up of ſeveral other known navigable Rivers inhabited by numerous Nations, as the *Panimaha*, who have but one Captain and 22 Villages, the leaſt of which contains 200 Cabbins. The *Paneaſſa*, the *Pana*, the *Panaloga*, and the *Metotantes*, each of which is as conſiderable as the *Panimaha*.[1]

The *Oſages* have 17 Villages upon a River of their name, that diſcharges it ſelf into that of the *Maſſourites*. Our Maps and thoſe of M. *de la Salle*, have placed the *Oſages* there. Formerly the *Akanſa* dwelt a great way up one of theſe Rivers, which bears their name ſtill, and which I take notice of about the midſt of the paſſage of the River *Ouabache* to that of the *Maſſourites*[2]; there lies the Cape of St. *Anthony* of *Padua*, and thereabouts live the Savage Nation of the *Manſopolea*.

[1] A reference to the various Pawnee tribes.— Ed.

[2] Apparently this was the Saline River, which empties into the Mississippi a little below Ste. Genevieve, Mo. Although a small stream, it was regarded as important on account of the salt-springs near it; salt-works were established there at an early date.— Ed.

*Sept.* 5. M. *Cavelier* and Father *Anaſtaſius* arriv'd at the mouth of the River of the *Illinois:* 'tis reckon'd 100 Leagues from thence to Fort *Crevecœur*, as I remark'd in my firſt Volume. The paſſage all the way is clear and navigable by large Veſſels. A *Chaouenon* nam'd *Turpin*, having ſeen them enter his Village, ran by land to carry the News to M. *Belle Fontaine*, Commander of that Fort; he could not believe what he told him, but they follow'd apace after the Barbarian, and came to the Fort, *Sept.* 14. preſently they conducted them to the Chapel, where *Te Deum* was thankfully ſung. The *Canadans* that were in the place, and ſome Savages fir'd Volleys of Muskets.

M. *de Tonti*, whom M. *de la Salle* deſign'd to be Commander of Fort *Crevecœur*, was gone among the [49] *Iroquois* to diſpoſe thoſe Barbarians to an Alliance. Theſe Travellers were receiv'd with all the kindneſs imaginable, and M. *de Belle-Fountain* omitted no Teſtimony of his joy to ſee them ſafely arriv'd.

It muſt be confeſt, that no man can evade his Deſtiny. At the ſame time it muſt likewiſe be acknowledged that the Diſaſter of M. *de la Salle* had ſomething very fatal in it; he undertook this great Voyage with deſign to find out the mouth of the River *Meſchaſipi*, but unfortunately fell by the way without ſucceeding in his enterprize, and yet juſt after his Death, his Brother, Father *Anaſtaſius*, &c. went up that River and arriv'd at the *Illinois*.

'Tis indubitable, nevertheleſs, that there is an excellent Haven at the mouth of this River, as I obſerv'd in 80. The

entry into it is very convenient, as may be eaſily ſeen. Of the three arms that compoſe this out-let, I always follow'd the Channel of that in the middle. 'Tis a commodious Harbour, and has ſeveral places fit to raiſe Fortreſſes upon, that are in no danger of being overflow'd, as has formerly been thought. The lower part or mouth of the River is habitable, and is inhabited by ſeveral ſavage Nations that don't lie far from it. The greateſt Veſſels may go up above 200 Leagues from the Gulph of *Mexico*, as far as the mouth of the River of the *Illinois*, which River is navigable for above 100 Leagues, and diſcharges it ſelf into the River *Meſchaſipi*. At the lower end of the River dwell ſeveral other Nations, which I forgot, as the *Picheno*, the *Ozanbogus*, the *Tangibao*, the *Ottonika*, the *Moviſa*, and many others, whoſe names eaſily eſcape ones Memory, when one paſſes through them without leiſure, or conveniency to take neceſſary obſervations and notes.

'Tis probable that M. *de la Salle* not finding the Mouth of that River in the Sea, fanſied that the Bay of St. *Lewis*, was not above 40 or 50 Leagues from the [50] Mouth of one of its Arms, at leaſt in a ſtrait line; but by misfortune he never was at it. God ſets bounds to all Men, and their Enterpriſes, to all the deſires of their Hearts, as well as to the vaſt Ocean.

Doubtleſs God permitted it ſo to be, that Father *Anaſtaſius* who is now Vicar of the Recollects at *Cambray*, ſhould diſcover 110 Nations in his Travels, without taking into the Number many more Savage People well known to thoſe he

convers'd with *en paſſant*, becauſe they traffick with them, which at the ſame time were never ſeen by any *European*.

Theſe People, as I have already noted, have very good Horſes, fit for any ſervice in abundance. They think themſelves well paid for a Horſe, if one gives them a Hatchet.

Father *Anaſtaſius* went from the Bay of St. *Lewis* to the Gulph of *Mexico* with deſign to ſettle a Miſſion among the *Cenis* in his 2d Voyage. Father *Zenobius Mambré* Recollect, who ſtaid behind at the ſaid Bay, was to have come and joyn'd him, to the end they might ſpread the Faith among the neighbouring Nations. They expected from *Europe* a great number of Labourers, but the death of M. *de la Salle* obliging him to proceed further he don't doubt but Father *Zenobius* has been there to look for him.

So it may be he is now in that Country with Father *Maximus* a Recollect and Native of *Liſle* in *Flanders*, and that they have left the Sieur *Chefdeville* a Miſſionary of St. *Sulpicius*, at the Miſſion of the Port in that Bay. He determin'd himſelf to be there, becauſe there were nine or ten *European* Families there with their Children, beſides ſome of M. *de la Salle*'s men have marry'd with the Women of the Country to augment the little Colony. This is the Extract of Father *Anaſtaſius*'s account of his toilſome Voyage. What are become of the people left in thoſe parts ſince that time, we know not.[1]

[1] In April, 1689, a Spanish expedition, commanded by Alonzo de Leon, reached La Salle's Fort St. Louis in Texas; they found that it had been captured, three months before, by the Tejas (Texas) Indians, who slew most of the remaining colonists. Leon ransomed the few survivors, who had been enslaved by the Indians.

[51] Father *Anaſtaſius* conceal'd the deplorable Fate of M. *de la Salle*, becauſe 'twas his duty as well as M. *Cavelier*'s the Prieſt, to carry the firſt news of it to Court, and ſecure the effects of the deceas'd in the ſaid Fort of the *Illinois*, becauſe he advanc'd Money upon the enterprize.[1] He departed from the *Illinois* in the Spring, 1688, together with Father *Anaſtaſius*, young *Cavelier*, M. *Joutel*, and one Barbarian, who dwells at preſent near *Verſailles;* they arriv'd at *Quebec*, *July* 27, and ſet ſail for *France* the 20th of *Auguſt* following. God granted them a favourable paſſage to *Paris*, after having run through incredible Dangers; and they gave an account of their Voyage to the late Marquis *de Seignelay.*

This is the ſtory of M. *de la Salle*'s laſt Voyage, which I thought my ſelf oblig'd to give the world, becauſe 'tis a continuation of mine, and confirms ſeveral things related in my account. I go on now to deſcribe the Religion and Manners of thoſe barbarous Nations, which I diſcover'd in my Voyage.

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For more detailed accounts, see Parkman's *La Salle*, pp. 442–446; and A. F. Bandelier's "Southwestern Historical Contributions," in *Papers* (Amer. series) of Archæological Institute of America, vol. v, pp. 180, 181.— Ed.

[1] Not only Douay, but even Cavelier (La Salle's own brother), deceived Tonty in this matter, telling him that La Salle was well, and would soon return to Illinois. Apparently this was done that Cavelier might secure goods and money from Tonty in La Salle's name. See Parkman's *La Salle*, pp. 435, 437.— Ed.

## [52] CHAP. XI.

*The Author's Reflections upon the Voyage to* China; *the opinion of moſt of the Savages of* North America *concerning the Creation of the World, and the Immortality of the Soul.*

'TIS a common ſaying, that Truth is the very Soul and Eſſence of Hiſtory: now this account of the Manners of the Savages of *North America* being taken ſincerely, needs no other recommendation. Novelty and Variety joyn together to pleaſe the Reader, tho' I treat of barbarous unpoliſh'd People; and therefore I hope, that a Deſcription of 200 different Nations, which I have either ſeen my ſelf, or been inform'd of by ſome religious that have been among them, will divert the curious.

The Son of God having foretold, that his Goſpel ſhould be preach'd thoughout the Univerſe, the faithfull have always intereſted themſelves in forwarding the accompliſhment of that Prophecy, and labour'd to convert thoſe barbarous Nations who have no knowledge of the true God. 'Tis true, that multitude of ſavage People which inhabit the vaſt Countries of *America*, have had their Eyes ſhut againſt the Light of Truth: but we have already begun to preach Chriſt crucifi'd to them, to the beſt of our skill, that we might bring them to Salvation. We hope therefore that thoſe who are ſtirr'd up by

the Love of God, will not be wanting for the future to finiſh what we have begun, but endeavour the Salvation [53] of ſo many Souls, who might not periſh, if Chriſtians would help them to get out of their natural Blindneſs. To clear the way, and direct the means to it, we are going to give an account of the Ideas theſe People have of Religion, and likewiſe of their Manners, that ſo we may the more readily contrive the method of their Converſion, and in what manner to inſtruct them, to render them capable of receiving the truth and eternal Salvation.

Our Diſcoveries have acquainted us with moſt part of *North America*, ſo that I don't queſtion if the King of *Great Britain*, and the States of *Holland* ſhould think fit to ſend us back thither to finiſh what we have ſo happily begun, but we ſhould demonſtrate what we could never yet give a clear account of, though many attempts have been made to it. It has been found impoſſible hitherto to go to *Japan* by the Frozen Sea; that Voyage has often been fruſtrated; and I am morally aſſur'd, that we can never ſucceed in it, till we have firſt diſcovered the Continent betwixt the Frozen Sea and *New Mexico*. I am perſwaded that God preſerv'd me in all the great dangers of my long Voyages, that I might perfect that happy Diſcovery; and I here offer my ſelf to undertake it, not doubting the ſucceſs of the Enterprize (God willing) provided I am furniſh'd with convenient means.

I don't wonder, that the learned are at a loſs how *America* was peopled, and that infinite number of Nations ſettled upon that vaſt Continent. *America* is half the terreſtrial

Globe. The moſt expert Geographers are not thoroughly acquainted with it, and the inhabitants themſelves, whom we diſcover'd, and who in all likelihood ſhould know beſt, don't know [54] how their Anceſtors came thither; and certainly if in *Europe* we wanted the Art of Writing (as thoſe People do) which in a manner makes the dead live again, recalls what's paſt, and preſerves the memory of things, I am afraid we ſhould not be leſs ignorant than thoſe Savages.

The greateſt part of the Barbarians in *North America* have generally a Notion of ſome ſort of Creation of the World; they ſay, Heaven, Earth and Mankind were made by a Woman, and that ſhe and her Son govern the World, and for this reaſon, perhaps it is, that they reckon their Genealogies by Women. They ſay farther, that the Son is the Author of all good things, and the Woman of all Evil. That both of them enjoy perfect Felicity. The Woman, they ſay, fell out of Heaven big with Child, and lighted upon the back of a Tortiſe, who ſav'd her from drowning.[1] When we object againſt the Ridiculouſneſs of their Belief, they uſually anſwer, that ſuch an Objection is of force with them that make it, but is of no weight againſt them, becauſe they look upon themſelves to be created after another manner than the *Europeans* are.

Other Savages upon the ſame Continent, are of opinion,

[1] This myth was current among the Huron tribes, and was related of a divinity named E-yă'-ta-hĕn-tsik (Ataentsic); her son was Iouskeha. They are regarded by Brinton as personifications of the moon and sun, respectively; and, by J. B. Hewitt, as representing the goddess of night and earth, and the reproductive power which pervades Nature. See *Jes. Relations*, viii, p. 303; x, 323.— Ed.

that a certain Spirit call'd *Otkon* by the *Iroquois*, and *Atahauta* by the other Barbarians at the Mouth of the River of St. *Laurence*, is the Creator of the World, and that one *Meſſou* repair'd it after the Deluge. In this manner do they alter and confound by their Traditions that Knowledge of the univerſal Deluge, which their Anceſtors probably had: they ſay, that this *Meſſou* or *Otkon* being a hunting one day, his Dogs loſt themſelves in a great Lake, which thereupon over-flowing, cover'd the whole Earth in a [55] ſhort time, and ſwallow'd up the World. They add, That this *Meſſou* or *Otkon* gather'd a little Earth together by the help of ſome Animals, and made uſe of this Earth to repair the World again.[1] They think the *Europeans* inhabit another World different from theirs; and when we go about to undeceive them, and teach them truly how the univerſe was created, they ſay all that may be true enough of the World we live upon, but 'tis quite another thing with theirs; Nay, they often ask us, whether we have a Sun and Moon in *Europe* as well as they.

There are another ſort of Savages who dwell at the Mouth of the River of St. *Laurence* and *Meſchaſipi*, that tell us a very odd Story; they ſay much like the former that a Woman came down from Heaven, and hover'd a while in the Air, becauſe ſhe could find no place to ſet her Foot upon. The Fiſh of the Sea compaſſionating her, held a Council to determine who ſhould receive her. The Tortoiſe offer'd

[1] Messou (the same as Manabozhu and Michabou), a divinity revered among the Algonquian tribes. See *Jes. Relations*, index, under above names.— Ed.

himſelf, and preſented his Back above Water, the Woman plac'd her ſelf upon it, and ſtaid there. In time the Filth of the Sea gathering and ſetling about the Tortoiſe by little and little, form'd a great extent of Land, which at preſent is that we call *America*.

Now ſay they, this ſame Woman being uneaſie at her living ſolitarily, and troubled to have no body to paſs the time with, more agreeably than ſhe did; there deſcended from on high a Spirit, who found her faln aſleep with melancholy; he approach'd her unperceiv'd, and from that Conjunction came forth two Sons out of her ſide; theſe two Children could never agree together after they were grown up. One was a better Hunter than t'other, and every day there was ſome ſcuffling between 'em. At length [56] their Animoſities grew to that Extremity, that they could not endure one another: One of them eſpecially was of a very violent humour, and had a mortal hatred for his Brother, who was better temper'd, the laſt unable any longer to ſubmit to the rude behaviour, and ill treatment which the other beſtow'd upon him perpetually, reſolv'd to ſeparate himſelf from him; ſo he flew up into Heaven, whence to denote his juſt reſentment, he rattles his Thunder from time to time over his unhappy Brother's head.

Some time after the Spirit came down again to the Woman, and then ſhe brought forth a Daughter from whom ſay the Savages is deſcended, that numerous People who now take up one of the largeſt Parts of the Univerſe.

How fabulous ſoever this Story be in it ſelf, yet we may

diſcern a run of Truth in it. This Womans ſleep and the Birth of two Sons, has ſomething in it akin to *Adam*'s ſleep, whilſt God took one of his Ribs to form *Eve*.

The diſagreement of the two Brothers reſembles the irreconcilable Hatred of *Cain* and *Abel;* the retreat of one of 'em to Heaven, repreſents the Death of *Abel*, and the Thunder grumbling in the Sky may be compar'd with the Curſe pronounc'd by God, upon the wretched *Cain*, for inhumanly killing his Brother.

'Tis a lamentable thing to conſider what wild Chimæra's the Devil puts in theſe People's heads. Tho' they believe that the Soul is Corporeal (for they underſtand nothing elſe by their *Otkon*, *Atahauta*, or *Manitou*,[1] but ſome material principal Being, that [57] gives life and motion to all things) nevertheleſs they profeſs their Belief of the Immortality of the Soul, and a Life to come, in which they ſhall enjoy all ſorts of pleaſure; as Hunting, and Fiſh in abundance, Corn for thoſe that ſow it, for ſome never ſow Corn; Tobacco, and a thouſand other Curioſities and Conveniencies. They ſay the Soul does not leave the Body as ſoon as it dies, and therefore they take care to lay by the Body a Bow, Arrows, Corn, and fat Meat, for the Dead to ſubſiſt upon till they reach the Country of Souls.

And becauſe they think all ſenſible things have Souls, therefore they reckon that after Death, men hunt the Souls of Beavers, Elks, Foxes, Otters, and other Animals. They

[1] General appellations given by the Indians to spirits of all kinds; applied, by extension, to anything mysterious or inexplicable.—Ed.

believe that the Souls of thoſe Rackets which they wear under their Feet in Winter-time to keep 'em from ſinking into the Snow, ſerve 'em for the ſame uſe in the next Life, as well as the Souls of Bows and Arrows to kill Beaſts with. And ſo they fanſie of the Fiſh likewiſe, and therefore the Souls will have occaſion ſay they for the Arms interr'd with the Dead; the dead Bodies have no need of the Arms and Victuals that are ſet by 'em, no longer than till they get to the Country of Souls.

They imagine that the Souls walk viſibly for ſome time in the Villages, and partake of their Feaſts and Revels, therefore they always ſet aſide a Portion for them. Nay ſeveral of theſe Nations go ſo far as to make certain general Feaſts for the Dead, accompanied with Songs and horrible Cries, Feaſts wherein all that is brought is to be eaten up; Dances and Preſents of divers kinds. They take up the dead Bodies in the Village, and the very Bones of thoſe that are conſumed which they call Packets of Souls,[1] they [58] remove 'em from one Sepulchre to another, adorn'd with dreſs'd Skins, Collars of Porcelain, and other like Riches, ſuch as their Country affords: They believe all this contributes mainly to the Happineſs of the Dead.

I will not be tedious in ſumming up particularly all their ſuperſtitious Opinions upon this Subject, in relation to the different Places or Employs they aſſign to them, the manner

[1] It was believed, by many tribes, that the soul dwelt in the bones, not only during the physical life, but for at least a time after death; and that it might afterward be reincarnated, if the bones remained unbroken. See *Jes. Relations*, xx, p. 310.—Ed.

of their living, their Wars, Peace, Policy and Laws: All extravagant, ridiculous Traditions founded upon Fables invented by their Anceſtours, and deliver'd to their Poſterity for credible Truths, and as ſuch receiv'd and firmly held by them.

One would be apt to ſuſpect that theſe Savages of *America* originally ſprung from the Jews, ſome of whom might caſually have been wreckt, and caſt upon that Part of the World; for they have ſeveral Cuſtoms not unlike theirs; they make their Cabbins in the form of Tents, like as the Jews did; they anoint themſelves with Oil, and are ſuperſtitiouſly addicted to Divination from Dreams. They bewail over the Dead with great lamentation. The Women go into mourning for their near Relations a whole Year, during which time they abſtain from dancing and feaſting, and wear a ſort of a Hood upon their Heads, and commonly the Father or Brother of the Deceas'd take care of the Widow.

Beſides it ſeems as if God had laid a particular Malediction upon 'em, as he did upon the Jews: They are brutiſh, and perſiſt unalterably in their Opinions; they have no certain fix'd Place of Abode; they are very laſcivious, and have ſuch groſs Conceptions, [59] that when we tell 'em Souls are immortal and immaterial, they ask what they eat in the other World. Moreover we may obſerve ſome Conformity between *Moſes*'s Relation of the Creation of the World, and the Belief of theſe Savages about it, as I obſerved above. But to ſpeak frankly, theſe Barbarians ſeem to have no kind of *Idea* of the Deity, and yet they believe another Life in which

they hope to enjoy the ſame Delights, that they are pleaſed with here. They live without any ſubordination, without Laws or any form of Government or Policy. They are ſtupid in matters of Religion, ſubtle and crafty in their Worldly concerns; but exceſſively ſuperſtitious.

## [60] CHAP. XII.

*What Method is moſt proper to convert the Savages; what Manner of Perſons they are that ought not to be baptized.*

OUR ancient Miſſionary Recollects of *Canada*, and thoſe that ſucceeded them in that work, have always given it for their opinion, as I now own 'tis mine, that the way to ſucceed in converting the Barbarians, is to endeavour to make them men before we go about to make them Chriſtians. Now in order to civilize them, 'tis neceſſary that the *Europeans* ſhould mix with them, and that they ſhould dwell together, which can never be done for certain till the Colonies are augmented: but it muſt be acknowledged, that the Company of *Canada* Merchants, have made great Obſtacles to the encreaſing of the Colonies; for out of greedineſs to keep all the Trade in their own hands, theſe Gentlemen would never permit any particular Society to ſettle themſelves in the Country, nor ſuffer the Miſſionaries to perſwade the Barbarians to dwell conſtantly in a place. Yet before this be done, there's no way to convert theſe Unbelievers. Thus the covetouſneſs of thoſe who are for getting a great deal in a ſhort time, has mightily retarded the eſtabliſhment of the Goſpel among the Savages.

Hence 'tis manifeſt, that the office of a Miſſionary is very

troubleſome and laborious, amongſt theſe numerous Nations, and it muſt be granted that 'tis neceſſary to ſpend many Years, and undergo a great deal of pains to civilize People ſo extremely ſtupid and barbarous.

[61] And therefore, one would not venture without much caution, to adminiſter the Sacraments to adult Perſons, who pretend themſelves Converts; for we ſee that after ſo many Years of Miſſion, there has been but little progreſs made, though no pains have been wanting on the Miſſionary's hands.

So that Chriſtianity is not like to gain much ground among the Savages, till the Colonies are ſtrengthened by a great Number of Inhabitants, Artiſans and Workmen, and then the Treaty betwixt the Barbarians and us ſhould be freer, and extended to all *Europeans:* But chiefly it ſhould be endeavour'd to fix the Barbarians to a certain dwelling Place, and introduce our Cuſtoms and Laws amongſt them, further'd by the Aſſiſtance of zealous People in *Europe*, Colleges might be founded to breed up the young Savages in the Chriſtian Faith, which might in time contribute very much to the Converſion of their Country-men. This is a very proper Method without doubt, to ſtrengthen the Temporal and Spiritual Intereſts of the Colonies; but the generality of Mankind are bent upon Gain and Traffick, and are little concern'd to procure God's Bleſſing upon them, and endeavour the advancement of his Glory.

God is often pleas'd to prove his Children, and amongſt 'em thoſe that employ themſelves in ſaving Souls, by thoſe means that moſt afflict them, but Dangers, Labours, Suffer-

ings, and even Death it ſelf would be welcome to them, provided in ſacrificing themſelves for the Salvation of their Brethren, God would afford them the Conſolation to ſee their Undertakings Crown'd with ſucceſs to his Glory, and the Converſion of Infidels.

[62] It is impoſſible for us to look upon ſo great a Number of People as this relation mentions, and conſider the little progreſs Religion has made among the Savages of theſe vaſt Countries, but we muſt needs admire the inſcrutable Decrees of God, and cry out with the Apoſtle, *O the Depth of the Riches of the Wiſdom and Knowledge of God!* a great Number of learned ſecular Prieſts, and zealous Religious men of our Order, have carried the Light of the Goſpel into all Parts of the Earth, and labour'd hard in the Lord's Vineyard. But God would have us know, that the Converſion of Souls is the Work of his Grace, the bleſſed Moments of which are not yet come.

I cannot help ſaying with Grief, that there is a great deal of difference between the modern Miſſions into *America*, and thoſe which our Recollects began in the New World, and continued in the Southern Parts of *America;* there they daily converted Millions of Souls; but in *Canada* we find the Ground barren and unfruitfull, nothing but blindneſs and inſenſibility, a prodigious Diſtance from God, and even an entire oppoſition to the Myſtery of our Faith. Whole Ages are requir'd to prepare theſe Barbarians for the Goſpel, before we can expect to ſee it flouriſh there: And to add to our affliction God has permitted that the Country ſhould

be in the hands of a Company of Merchants, who think of nothing but their private Intereſt, and are unconcern'd for the Propagation of the Faith.

Our Ancient Miſſionary's Recollects did not grant the Sacrament of Baptiſm to the Savages but with great Caution, for fear the Sacred Myſtery ſhould be profaned by the Barbarians; and in our Days we ſee theſe Nations not at all diſpos'd to Chriſtianity: They [63] ſeem to have no Senſe at all of Religion in general to be incapable of the moſt common reaſonings, that lead other Men to the knowledge of a Deity true or falſe.

Theſe miſerable dark Creatures liſten to all we ſay concerning our Myſteries, juſt as if 'twere a Song; they are naturally very vitious, and addicted to ſome Superſtitions that ſignifie nothing; there Cuſtoms are ſavage, brutal and barbarous; they will ſuffer themſelves to be baptized ten times a Day for a Glaſs of Brandy, or a Pipe of Tobacco, and offer their Children to be baptiz'd, but all without any Religious Motive. Thoſe that one takes the pains to inſtruct, for a Winter together, as I my ſelf taught ſome of them while I dwelt at Fort *Frontenac*, give no better ſigns of Edification, than others in our Articles of Faith: So wrapt up are they in Inſenſibility, to what concerns Religion, which occaſion'd terrible Checks of Conſcience in our Religious, in the beginning of their Miſſion among the People of *Canada;* they ſaw that the few Perſons of years of Diſcretion that they had inſtructed, and afterwards admitted to Baptiſm, ſoon fell again into their ordinary indifference for Salvation,

and that the Children follow'd the unhappy Example of their Parents, inſomuch that 'twas no better than a plain profanation of Baptiſm to adminiſter it to them.

The Caſe was ſearch'd into to the bottom, and argued upon with much application; nay, 'twas carried into the *Sorbonne*[1]; at length, after all poſſible diligent Scrutiny into the matter it was concluded, that as for Perſons of years, and Children near the Point of Death, and who in all humane Probability would certainly ſoon give up the Ghoſt; they might venture to baptize them if they demanded it, becauſe it [64] might be juſtly preſum'd, that in that extremity God inſpir'd the adult Perſons with his Grace, as 'twas thought it had been obvious in ſome of them; but they declar'd, that as for the other Savages, they ought not to be baptiz'd, until after long obſervation and experience, they were perceiv'd to be well inclined and inſtructed, having a right apprehenſion of our Myſteries, and had quitted their barbarous Cuſtoms, they declar'd further that they might adminiſter Baptiſm to thoſe who dwelt conſtantly among the Chriſtians, were brought up in the ſame way of living, were civiliz'd, and above all were well inſtructed, and that they ſhould baptize their Children; and they compos'd a Form, and likewiſe a kind of fundamental Canon, for a Rule to theſe Miſſionaries, to which they were abſolutely to conform themſelves in the Functions of their Employ.

[1] Cf. the condemnation by the Sorbonne of Fléché's too hasty baptisms in Acadia (1610); see *Jes. Relations*, i, 311. The Sorbonne was a celebrated school of theology, founded at Paris in 1253 by Robert Sorbon. It ceased to exist in 1790; and in 1808 its buildings were given to the University of France.—Ed.

## [65] CHAP. XIII.

*The Barbarians of* North-America *don't acknowledg any God. Of the pretended Souls of terreſtrial Animals.*

OUR antient Miſſionaries Recollects were acquainted with ſeveral different Nations within the compaſs of 600 Leagues in *North-America;* and I have been among many more, becauſe I went farther than any of them, having made a Voyage all along the River of St. *Lawrence*, and *Meſchaſipi*. I obſerved, as my Predeceſſors, that the Savages don't want good Senſe in what concerns the general and particular Intereſt of their Nation. They purſue their Point, and take right Methods to come to the end of their deſigns: but 'tis what I am aſtoniſh'd at, that whilſt they are ſo clear ſighted in their common Affairs, they ſhould have ſuch extravagant notions of the concerns of Religion, the Manners, Laws, and Maxims of Life.

We muſt all of us own, that almoſt all the Savages in general have no Belief of a Deity, and that they are incapable of the common and ordinary Arguments and Reaſonings that the reſt of Mankind are led by upon this Subject; ſo dark and ſtupid are their Underſtandings. At the ſame time we may acknowledg, that now and then in ſome of them we diſcover ſome glimmerings of a confus'd Notion of God.

Some will confeſs, but very cloudily, that the Sun is God: Others ſay, 'tis a Genius that rules in the Air: Some again look upon the Heavens as a kind of Divinity. But theſe only make a ſhew of believing ſomething [66] that we can hardly gueſs at: we can't fix them to any ſettled Principle. The Nations Southward ſeem to believe an Univerſal Spirit that governs all: they imagine after a faſhion, that there's a Spirit in every thing, even in thoſe that are inanimate; and they addreſs themſelves to it ſometimes, and beg ſomething of it; as we took notice of one Barbarian, who made a kind of Sacrifice upon an Oak, at the Caſcade of St. *Antony* of *Padua*, upon the River *Meſchaſipi*.[1]

All theſe Nations don't profeſs their Belief of a Deity out of any reſpect to Religion: They talk of it ordinarily, as a thing they were prepoſſeſſed with; or frolickſomly, not regarding any thing they ſay themſelves, any otherwiſe than as a kind of Fable. They have no outward Ceremony to ſignify that they worſhip any Deity: There's no Sacrifice, Prieſt, Temple, nor any other Token of Religion amongſt them.

Their Dreams are to them inſtead of Prophecy, Inſpiration, Laws, Commandments, and Rules, in all their Enterprizes, in War, Peace, Commerce, and Hunting: They regard them as Oracles. The Opinion they have of their Dreams draws them into a kind of neceſſity to be ruled by them; for they think 'tis an Univerſal Spirit, that inſpires them by Dreams, and adviſeth them what to do: And they carry this ſo far,

[1] See p. 278, *ante*.—Ed.

that if their Dream orders them to kill a Perſon, or commit any other wicked Action, they preſently execute it, and make ſatisfaction for it afterwards, as we ſhall ſhew anon. The Parents dream for their Children, the Captains for their Village. There are ſome among them, that take upon them to interpret Dreams, and explain them after their own fancy or inclination; and if their Interpretations don't prove true, they are not lookt upon as Cheats ere the more for that.

[67] Some have taken notice, that when they meet with any Caſcade or Fall of Waters, which is difficult to croſs, and apprehend any danger, they throw a Bever's Skin, Tobacco, Porcelain, or ſome ſuch matter into it by way of Sacrifice, to gain the Favour of the Spirit that preſides there.

There's no Nation but what have their Jugglers, which ſome count Sorcerers: but 'tis not likely that they are under any Covenant, or hold communication with the Devil. At the ſame time, one may venture to ſay, that the evil Spirit has a hand in the Tricks of theſe Jugglers, and makes uſe of them to amuſe theſe poor People, and render them more incapable of receiving the Knowledg of the true God. They are very fond of theſe Jugglers, tho they cozen them perpetually.

Theſe Impoſtors would be counted Prophets, who foretel things to come: they would be look'd upon as having almoſt an infinite Power: they boaſt that they make Rain or fair Weather, Calms and Storms, Fruitfulneſs or Barrenneſs of the Ground, Hunting lucky or unlucky. They ſerve for

Phyſicians too, and frequently apply ſuch Remedies, as have no manner of virtue to cure the Diſtemper.

Nothing can be imagin'd more horrible than the Cries and Yellings, and the ſtrange Contorſions of theſe Raſcals, when they fall to juggling or conjuring; at the ſame time they do it very cleverly. They never cure any one, nor predict any thing that falls out, but purely by chance: mean time they have a thouſand Fetches to bubble [*i. e.*, cheat] the poor people, when the accident does not anſwer their Predictions and Remedies; for, as I ſaid, they are both Prophets and Quacks. They do nothing without Preſents or Reward. 'Tis true, if theſe Impoſtors are not very dexterous at recommending themſelves, and bringing themſelves off, when any perſon dies under their [68] hands, or Enterprizes do not ſucceed as they promis'd, they are ſometimes murdered upon the place, without any more Formality.

Theſe blind Wretches are wedded to many other Superſtitions, which the Devil makes uſe of to delude them: They believe that ſeveral kinds of Animals have a reaſonable Soul: They have an unaccountable Veneration for certain Bones of Elks, Bevers, and other Beaſts; they never throw theſe to their Dogs, which are the only Domeſtick Animals they keep, becauſe they ſerve for Hunting: So they preſerve theſe precious Bones, and are very unwilling to caſt them into the River. They pretend, that the Souls of theſe Animals come back into the World to ſee how they treat their Bodies, and give notice accordingly to the reſt of the Beaſts both dead

and living; and that if they ſhould find they are ill us'd, the Beaſts of that kind would never let themſelves be taken, neither in this World nor the next.

One may ſay, that the Corruption of Sin has ſpread a ſtrange Darkneſs in the Souls of theſe unhappy people, and a perfect Inſenſibility to all Religion; inſomuch that they are not to be match'd in any Hiſtory. 'Tis true, they are obſtinately ſuperſtitious in ſome things; and yet at the ſame time, they are not mov'd by any principle of Religion. 'Tis nothing but ſtrong Prejudice and Imagination. When we diſpute with them, and put them to a nonplus, they hold their tongues; their Minds are ſtupid, their Faculties are beſotted. If we propoſe our Myſteries to them, they heed them as indifferently as their own nonſenſical Whimſies. I have met with ſome of them, who ſeem to acknowledg that there is one firſt Principle that made all things; but this makes but a ſlight Impreſſion upon their Mind, which returns again to its ordinary Deadneſs, and former Inſenſibility.

## [69] CHAP. XIV.

*Of the great difficulties in converting the Savages. Of the Prayers they get by rote; and of Martyrdom.*

THE great Inſenſibility of theſe Barbarians is cauſed principally by their Careleſneſs and neglect to be thoroughly inſtructed. They come to us, and attend to what we ſay, purely out of Idleneſs, and natural Curioſity to converſe with us, as we with them; or rather they are tempted to follow us, by the Kindneſs and Flatteries we expreſs towards them, or becauſe of the Benefit their Sick receive from us, or out of hope to gain by trafficking with us; or laſtly, becauſe we are Europeans, and they think us ſtouter than themſelves, and hope we will defend them from their Enemies.

We teach them Prayers; but they repeat them like Songs, without any diſtinction by Faith. Thoſe we have catechized a long time, are very wavering, except ſome few: They renounce all, return into their Woods, and take up their old Superſtitions upon the leaſt Crotchet that comes into their Heads.

I don't know whether their Predeceſſors had any Knowledg of a God; but 'tis certain their Language, which is very natural and expreſſive in every thing elſe, is ſo barren on this

Subject, that we can't find any expreſſion in it to ſignify the Deity, or any one of our Myſteries, not even the moſt common: this gives us great perplexity when we would convert them.

Another great Obſtacle to their Converſion is this: Moſt of them have ſeveral Wives; and in the Northern parts they change them as often as they pleaſe: [70] They can't conceive how people can tie themſelves indiſſolubly to one perſon in Marriage. See how ſilly you are, cry they, when we argue with them about it. My Wife is uneaſy to me, I am ſo to her; ſhe'll agree very well with ſuch a one, who is at odds with his Wife: now why ſhould we four lead a miſerable Life all our days?

Another hindrance lies in a Cuſtom of theirs, not to contradict any Man; they think every one ought to be left to his own Opinion, without being thwarted: they believe, or make as if they believed all you ſay to them; but 'tis their Inſenſibility, and Indifference for every thing, eſpecially Matters of Religion, which they never trouble themſelves about.

*America* is no place to go to out of a deſire to ſuffer Martyrdom, taking the Word in a Theological Senſe: The Savages never put any Chriſtian to death upon the ſcore of his Religion; they leave every body at liberty in Belief: They like the outward Ceremonies of our Church, but no more. Theſe Barbarians never make War, but for the Intereſt of their Nation; they don't kill people, but in par-

ticular Quarrels, or when they are brutiſh, or drunk, or in revenge, or infatuated with a Dream, or ſome extravagant Viſion: they are incapable of taking away any Perſon's Life out of hatred to his Religion.

They are brutiſh in all their Inclinations; they are naturally Gluttons, and know no other Happineſs in this Life, but the pleaſure of eating and drinking: This is remarkable in their very Eyes, and their Diverſions, which are always begun and ended with feaſting.

The Paſſion of Revenge which they are poſſeſſed with, is another great Obſtacle to Chriſtianity: They are very tender and affectionate to their own Nation, but cruel and revengeful beyond imagination towards their Enemies: They are naturally Inconſtant, [71] Revilers, Scoffers, and Laſcivious. In ſhort, among all the Vices they are addicted to, we can perceive no Principle of Religion or Morality; and to be ſure this muſt needs render their Converſion extremely difficult.

To perſwade them to any thing, and diſpoſe them to the Faith, 'tis requiſite to make them familiar with us, and contract a good acquaintance with them; but this is not to be done preſently, becauſe firſt of all the Colonies ought to be multiplied, and planted every where. When they have paſs'd away a few Weeks with the Europeans, they are oblig'd to go to War, Hunting, or Fiſhing, for their Subſiſtence, and this depraves 'em extremely. They ſhould be fix'd, inticed to clear the Ground, and cultivate it, and work at ſeveral Trades, as the Europeans do; and then we ſhould ſee 'em

reform their barbarous Cuſtoms, and become more civiliz'd, as well towards one another as us.

In another place we ſhall treat of the other Southern Nations, who ſeem better diſpos'd to receive the Goſpel than thoſe of the North.

## CHAP. XV.

*The manner of Feaſting among the Savages.*

THEY have Feaſts at parting from one another, Feaſts of Thanks, War, Peace, Death, Marriage, and Health. They continue revelling night and day, particularly when they hold thoſe Feaſts, which they term, *Eat up all:* For then they don't permit any one to quit the Company till all be eaten up. And if a Perſon is not able to ſtuff any longer, he is oblig'd to hire another into his place.

[72] They have other Feaſts for the recovery of the Sick, and ſome ordinary common Feaſts. Formerly they kept wanton Feſtivals, where the Men and Women mingled together promiſcuouſly, and plaid moſt abominable lewd Pranks. But if they make ſuch Entertainments now a-days, 'tis very rarely, and when they are at a great diſtance from the Europeans.

When they undertake a War, 'tis commonly to recover ſatisfaction for ſome Injury, that they pretend has been done to them: Sometimes they engage in it, upon account of a Dream, and often as a Fancy takes 'em: Sometimes they enter into it, becauſe other People jeer them: You're a Coward, ſay they; You never were in a Battle; You have kill'd no Body yet. Then are they rouz'd by Honour, and

after they have kill'd ſome Fallow Deer, make a Feaſt, and exhort their Neighbours to accompany them in their Enterprize.

When they have a mind to go ſingly, and alone, they make no Feaſts, but only order their Wives to get them ſome Meal of Indian Corn, becauſe they are going to War. But if they would have Companions, they go through all the Villages to invite the young Men, who take their Platters of Wood, or Bark of Birch: Then they rendezvouz at the Cabin of him who invited them, which they commonly enter, ſinging Warlike Songs. I am going to War, I will revenge the Death of ſuch a Kinſman, I will ſlay, I will burn, I will bring away Slaves, I will eat Men, and ſuch like Expreſſions that breathe nothing but Cruelty.

When all the Crew are aſſembled, they fill the Kettles of thoſe that have any, or elſe their Porringers of Wood or Bark: then they ſit down to eat; and during the Entertainment, he that invited them to the Feaſt, ſings without intermiſſion, and exhorts them to follow him.

All this while they ſpeak not one word, and eat up [73] all they have given them in profound Silence, except one or other of 'em between whiles applauds him that made the Feaſt of War, by anſwering *Netho*, or *Joguenske*. When the Orator has done, he ſays to 'em all, 'Tis well; I'll march to morrow, or within two or three days, according as he hath projected. The next day thoſe who are willing to accompany him to the War, go to him, and aſſure him that they will follow him any where to revenge him upon his Enemies.

'Tis very well, Nephews, ſays he, we'll be going three days hence. And the Savages make twelve or fifteen Feaſts of this kind before they ſet out.

Theſe Barbarians had us'd to make very laſcivious Feaſts. The Leader of the Party ordered a young Woman to proſtitute her ſelf to ſuch or ſuch a one as he pointed at. If ſhe refus'd to gratify them, they attributed all their Miſcarriages in their Enterprizes to her; ſo cunning is the Devil in cheriſhing their impure Imaginations.

When they marry their Children, they ſeldom make a Feaſt. But if they do think fit to make any, they obſerve certain Ceremonies in it: the firſt thing they do, is to prepare Victuals. To this end they fill with Meat thoſe Kettles which they have truck'd for with the Europeans, or great Earthen Pots which the Women make. They provide as many of them as they deſign to have Gueſts: when the Meat, or *Sagamite* is dreſs'd, they go to invite their Gueſts, and this they do by putting a little ſtick into their hand, and ſaying, I invite thee to my Feaſt. No ſooner ſaid, but 'tis done, they need not be ask'd twice. They all come with their uſual Utenſils. The Maſter of the Cabin diſtributes to each an equal Meſs, and he that provides the Feaſt, or ſome other in his place, ſings without ceaſing till they have eaten all up: after the Banquet they ſing and dance, and at laſt without any Formality of [74] returning Thanks to the Donor, they go back every one to their Cabin without ſpeaking a word. None but thoſe who have convers'd with the Europeans, return Thanks to thoſe that invited them.

The Feaſts made to recover the Sick are much after the ſame manner: But they do more good to the Gueſts than to the ſick weak Perſons. The Feaſts for the Dead are more doleful and ſad. No Body ſings or dances then. The Kindred of the Dead are in a deep mournful Silence. They look mightily troubl'd, to move their Gueſts to Compaſſion: all that go to theſe Feaſts, carry Preſents with 'em; and laying them at the feet of the near Kindred to the Deceas'd, ſay, here's ſomething to cover him, towards building a Cabin, or making a Paliſade round his Sepulchre, according to the nature of their Preſents: then they feed plentifully, and return home without ſpeaking a word.

As for the ordinary Feaſts, they order 'em ſeveral ways according to their Fancy: if they have any Knives bought of the Europeans, and have eaten and cut fat Meat with them, they ordinarily wipe their Knives with their Hair. They commonly eat ſitting upon the ground, and have nothing to wipe upon. So they are forc'd to wipe their greaſy Knives in their Hair, and then rub their Faces all over with it. Theſe frequent Unctions without doubt harden them, and make 'um capable of undergoing much Toil.

## CHAP. XVI.

*The manner of Adopting the* Europeans *among the Savages.*

I TOOK notice in my former Volume that a Barbarian Captain of the *Iſſati*, or *Nadoueſſans*, named *Aquipaguetin*, adopted me in the place of his Son, who was [75] kill'd in Battle by the *Miamis*, and that this help'd me to gain Credit among theſe People, and inſinuate my ſelf into 'em, the better to diſpoſe 'em to believe the Goſpel. This is what the Miſſionaries ſhould aim at, when they are among the Savages; they ſhould endeavour to inſinuate themſelves into the Favour of him who is moſt famous of all the Leaders among 'em, and moſt inclin'd to the *Europeans*. Then this Captain brings them forth, for that's the term the Savages uſe to ſignify their Adoption; and this is done in a Feaſt. The Captain, I ſay, adopts a Miſſionary for his Son, or for his Brother, according to his Age and Quality; after which all the Nation look upon him as if he were actually born in their Country, and a-kin to their Captain: by means of this Ceremony he gets admiſſion into the Family, in the quality of a Son, a Brother, Uncle, Nephew, or Couſin, with reſpect to thoſe of the Family, and according to the rank they hold in it by their Birth.

And to carry on their Deſigns the better, the Miſſionaries

cauſe a Council to be aſſembled, to ſet themſelves off the more to the Barbarians. And here let it be obſerv'd, that all Aſſemblies, held by order of their Captains, are call'd *Councils*. Thoſe that come to theſe Aſſemblies, ſit upon the Ground in a Cabin, or in open Field; they keep ſilence whilſt their Leader makes his Harangue, and religiouſly obſerve whatever they once firmly conclude upon.

The Miſſionaries deliver themſelves, in theſe Aſſemblies, either by word of Mouth, if they underſtand the Language of the People, or elſe by Interpreters. They tell 'em that they come among them to make an Alliance and Friendſhip with them, and at the ſame time to invite them to traffick with their Nation; in concluſion, they deſire the Savages to permit them to dwell in their Country, to inſtruct them in God's Law, which is the only way to Heaven.

[76] The Savages often accept the Offers of the Miſſionaries, and aſſure them they are well ſatisfied with their Perſons: but to win the Barbarians, 'tis requiſite that the Miſſionaries give them Hatchets, Knives, or other European Merchandizes, which the Savages, eſpecially thoſe who never yet had any Commerce with the Europeans, ſet a high value upon. We never treat of any Affair with them without preſenting them with ſomething of that nature, which they value more than we in *Europe* do Gold. After this the Barbarians *bring forth*, that is to ſay, adopt thoſe that have made Preſents to them. They publickly declare them Citizens, or Children of their Country; and according to their Age, as I ſaid before, the Savages call the adopted Perſons, Sons, Brothers,

Couſins, according to the degrees of Relation: And they cheriſh them whom they have once adopted, as much as if they were their own natural Brothers or Children.

I forgot to take notice in my former Volume, that the great Captain of the *Iſſati*, named *Ouaſicoude*, or pierced Pine-tree, call'd me his Brother. There are no examples among the other Nations of adopting any one for a Brother to a Captain ſo abſolute as he. He had been ſeveral times at war with ſeventeen or eighteen Nations, Enemies to his, and brought away their Heads, or made them Priſoners.

Thoſe that are Valiant and Couragious are very much eſteem'd by the Savages. They ordinarily uſe no other Arms than Bows, Arrows, and Maces [*i. e.*, war-clubs]; but they uſe them very dexterouſly. They are clear-limb'd, active, and robuſt: I never ſaw any blind, crooked, or deform'd Perſon among them.

## [77] CHAP. XVII.

### *Of the Marriages of the Savages in North* America.

MARRIAGE is not a Civil Contract among theſe People; the Man and Woman don't intend to bind themſelves together for as long as they live, they live together no longer than they agree together, and love one another. As ſoon as they are diſcontented with each other, they ſay, as I have before obſerved, My Wife is uneaſy to me, and I to her, ſhe'll agree well enough with ſuch a one who is weary of his Wife; there's no reaſon why we four ſhould live unquietly all our days: So without more ado, without any Clamor or Noiſe, they ſeparate, and remain perfectly indifferent for each other.

Theſe Barbarians ſometimes marry their Daughters at nine or ten Years old, not that the young Couple come together ſo ſoon, their Age is too green for that, but they expect to make ſome Advantage of their Sons-in-law; for when they return from hunting, the Girl's Father has the diſpoſal of the Skins, and the Fleſh they have taken: but at the ſame time the Girl is obliged to bring the *Sagamite*, or Milk thicken'd with Indian Corn, and the Meat provided for her Husband's eating, tho ſhe do not yet cohabit with him: ſometimes 'tis five or ſix Years before they conſummate.

When they marry, they make Feaſts with great pomp

and rejoicing; all the Village is invited by turns: every one makes good Chear. After the Banquet they ſing and dance, as the Europeans upon that occaſion, but after their own way.

[78] They often marry clandeſtinely, and there goes but one word to the Bargain. A Savage unmarried Man goes to a Maid, or unmarried Woman; without more Courtſhip, he tells her, if ſhe will go with him, ſhe ſhall be his Wife: She makes no Reply at firſt, but pauſes a little while, holding her Head betwixt both her Hands while ſhe is conſidering what to do; the Man holds his Head in the ſame poſture, and ſtands ſilent. After ſhe has thought a little of the matter, ſhe ſays *Netho*, or *Niaoua*, which ſignifies, I am content: The Man lifts up his Head preſently, and replies, *Oné*, that is to ſay, 'tis a Match. At Night the Woman or Maid takes an Iron Hatchet, or if her Nation have no Commerce with the Europeans, ſhe takes one made of Stone that will cut; ſhe goes and cuts as much good Wood as ſhe can carry, brings it to the door of the Savage's Cabin, and lays it down; ſhe goes in and ſits down by the Man, who does not offer to careſs her: when they have ſat together long enough without ſpeaking, the Husband tells her in the *Iroquoiſe* Tongue, *Sentaouy*, 'tis time to lie down, repoſe your ſelf: ſometime after he comes and lays himſelf down by her.

'Tis very rarely ſeen that any of 'em make Love after the European manner, courting, dallying, and jeſting fondly and merrily; they re-enter into a reciprocal Kindneſs with as much eaſe as they broke it off before: They part very quietly, for they make no more words on't than, *I quit thee;* that's all:

they are perfectly indifferent to each other after when they meet, and take no more notice than if they had never ſeen one another. 'Tis true, they ſometimes fight before they part, but that happens very rarely.

Among the Northern Savages, and particularly the *Iroquois*, ſome have two Wives, but not for any long time: when they part, ſometimes the Woman carries away all the Clothes and Skins; but at other [79] times again ſhe carries nothing away but the piece of Stuff that ſerves her for a little Petticoat, and her Blanket. Commonly the Children follow their Mothers, who continue to nurſe and bring them up, becauſe the Eſtate of every Tribe or Family lies in common: there are ſome that ſtay with their Fathers; but almoſt all the Savages that are divorced leave their Children to their Wives, ſaying, they don't believe they are theirs; wherein they frequently tell truth, for there are very few Women among them that withſtand the temptation of a woollen Blanket, or any other trivial Preſent.

When their Children are begotten by an European, one may perceive it by their Face or Eyes; the Children of the Savages are perfectly black, and not pale or ſwarthy like the Europeans; they ſee farther into the Woods likewiſe, and with more quickneſs than ours: Their Eyes are more piercing than the Europeans.

If the Savage Women were capable of contracting Marriage, and keep ſtedfaſt in it, we might marry as many of them as we would to the Europeans; but they have no inclination to Conſtancy, they can't keep their Conjugal Vows

inviolated, and are very ready to leave their Husbands: this we know by Experience, and their common diſcourſe upon this Subject confirms us in it. When a Barbarian who has no Wife paſſes through a Village, he hires a Woman for a Night or two, whilſt he tarries from home, or is hunting Bevers, or for ſome Weeks, according to his fancy; the Parents never hinder it: on the contrary, they make the firſt advances, and are over-joy'd that their Daughters gain ſome Clothes or Skins.

There are all ſorts of Humours reigning among the Savages, as among the Europeans: ſome love their Wives very tenderly, others ſlight 'em; ſome beat and uſe them very hardly, but that does not laſt [80] long, becauſe they turn them off; nay, there are ſome of them that are jealous, as I ſaw one who beat his Wife becauſe ſhe danc'd with other Men. Thoſe that are good Hunters have the choice of the fineſt Women, the reſt have none but the homelieſt, and the Refuſe. When they grow old, they rarely part with their Wives; and if they do, 'tis for weighty Reaſons. Some of them live twelve or fifteen Years with their Wives, who are ready to go diſtracted if their Husband is a good Hunter, and leaves them: ſometimes they are ſo grieved at it, that they poiſon themſelves; I have known ſome attempt it, and have ſaved their Lives by giving them Treacle.

When theſe Barbarians go to hunt the Bever in the Spring-time, they frequently leave their Wives in the Village to ſow Indian Corn and Gourds, and then they hire another to go along with them: When they are about to return, they

give them a Bever or two, and ſend 'em back to their Cabin; then they go home to their Wives as tho they had done nothing blameable: but if the laſt pleaſes them beſt, they take her, and turn away the firſt without more ado: and theſe Savages wonder the Europeans don't take the ſame courſe.

One day whilſt I liv'd at Fort *Frontenac* amongſt the *Iroquois*, the Husband of one of our Women of *Canada* was gone twenty or thirty Leagues from thence; the Women Savages came to her, and told her ſhe had no ſenſe, take another Man till your Husband returns. This great Inconſtancy, and continual change of Women, are two things very oppoſite to the Maxims of the Goſpel, which we endeavour to inſtil into the Savages: 'Tis one of the moſt conſiderable Obſtacles to the Faith; but among the Southern Nations, and thoſe of *Meſchaſipi*, Polygamy is in faſhion. In all the Countries of the *Louiſiana* there are Savages to be met with that have often ten or [81] twelve Wives; they frequently marry three Siſters, and give this reaſon for ſo doing, that they agree better together than with Strangers.

When a Man has given Preſents to the Father and Mother of the Maid that he would eſpouſe, ſhe becomes his own for Life if he pleaſe. Sometimes the Parents take their Son-in-law's Children, and then they give 'em back the Preſents they made 'em, but this happens very ſeldom. If any Woman defile her Marriage-bed, the Husband cuts off her Noſe, or an Ear, or gives her a ſlaſh in the Face with a ſtone Knife; if he kill her, he is clear'd for a Preſent which he gives to her Parents to *wipe away their Tears*, 'tis the very

Expreſſion they uſe: I have ſeen ſeveral markt in the Face.

The Men of the hot Country are more jealous of their Wives than thoſe of the North; the firſt are ſo jealous in this matter, that they wound themſelves, and ſometimes kill themſelves in a blind paſſion of Love, which prompts them to this Fury.

One thing is very remarkable, and that is, young Warlike Savages ſeldom have to do with Women till thirty Years of Age, becauſe, ſay they, their Commerce with Women exhauſts their Strength, weakens their Knees, and renders them heavy in the Courſe; thoſe that marry before that Age, are look'd upon as Men unfit for War or Hunting, and are deſpiſed as Effeminate Perſons.

The Southern Men commonly go naked, but their Women are partly covered with a Skin finely dreſt, eſpecially in their Dances and Ceremonies: The Maids oil their Hair, curl it, and tie it in Locks: The Women wear their Hair like the Bohemians, they greaze it too, and paint their Faces with all ſorts of Colours, and ſo do the Men.

## [82] CHAP. XVIII.

*Of the Remedies which the Savages adminiſter to the Sick; they have Mountebanks among them. Their opinion of Infant-Baptiſm when the Author liv'd there.*

WHEN the Savages are tired and weary, they go into a Stove[1] to recruit the ſtrength of their Limbs; and if they have a pain in their Thighs or Legs, they take a Knife or a Stone that will cut, which they can get, and make a ſort of Scarification upon the Part that is grieved; while the Blood runs, they ſcrape it off with their Knives or Stones till it has done running, and then they rub the Wounds with Bear's Oil, or Deer's Greaſe; this is a ſoveraign Remedy, and they uſe the ſame when they have a Pain in the Head or Arms.

To cure Tertian or Quartan Agues, they compoſe a Medicine with a certain Bark which they boil, and give it to the ſick Perſon to ſwallow after his Fit. They have ſome knowledg in Herbs and Roots, with which they cure ſeveral Diſtempers: They have infallible Remedies againſt the Poiſon

[1] That is, a sweat-box; within a little tent or hut were placed stones heated red-hot, on which water was poured, the hut being thereby filled with steam. This process was regarded as a valuable therapeutic agency, and was also employed in superstitious rites.— ED.

of Toads, Rattleſnakes, and other dangerous Animals; but none againſt the Small-Pox, as we have.

There are Mountebanks or Quacks among them, whom we have already ſpoke of under the name of Jugglers: Theſe are ſome old Savages who live at other Peoples Coſt, by counterfeiting themſelves Phyſicians, after a very ſuperſtitious manner. They make no uſe of Medicines but when they are call'd to a ſick Perſon; they make themſelves be ſued to, as tho they were to do ſome thing very extraordinary [83] and difficult: at laſt, after much intreaty, the Juggler comes, he approaches the ſick Perſon, feels his Body all over; and after he has well handled and conſider'd it, he tells 'em, there's a Charm or Spell in ſuch a part, in the Head, Leg, or Stomach, or where he thinks fit; he adds, that he muſt remove this ſame Charm, and that it can't be done but with a great deal of difficulty, and 'tis neceſſary to do a great many things before he can ſucceed in it.

This Charm is very malign, ſays he, but it muſt be fetch'd out coſt what it will: The ſick Perſon's Friends, who blindly believe all the Quack tells 'em, make anſwer, *Tchagon*, *Tchagon*, Courage, Courage, Do what you can, ſpare nothing that you know will do him good: Then the Juggler ſets himſelf down very gravely, and conſiders ſome time what Remedies to make uſe of; by and by he riſes up, as out of a profound Sleep, and cries, It ſhall be done. You ſuch a one, the Life of your Wife, or your Child is very dear to you, then ſpare nothing that may ſave it; you muſt make a Feaſt to day, you muſt give one thing or other, you muſt do this or that: at the

ſame time they never fail to execute the Juggler's Orders. The other Savages go all together into a Stove, and ſing as loud as they can baul, and make a ratling with Tortoiſe Shells, or Pumkins made hollow, and Indian Corn put into 'em; and to this Noiſe the Men and Women dance: nay, ſometimes they get drunk with Brandy bought of the Europeans, and then they make a horrible din and clutter.

While they are all taken up in this manner, the old Juggler keeps cloſe to the ſick Perſon, whom he torments by holding his or her Feet and Legs, and gripes them hard in the part where the pretended Charm lies; he makes 'em ſuffer incredible Pain, enough to kill 'em, and often makes the Blood ſtart out at the end of their Fingers or Toes; at length [84] after he has done all this, he ſhews a piece of Skin, a lock of Woman's Hair, or ſome ſuch thing, and tells 'em 'tis the Charm which he has drawn out of the ſick Perſon's Body, when at the bottom 'tis all a piece of Roguery.

Once I baptiz'd a little Child which ſeem'd to me to be at the point of Death, and next day it recovered contrary to my expectation; a while after the Mother told ſeveral Women in my preſence, that I had cur'd her Child: She took me for a Juggler, ſaying, I was an admirable Fellow, that I knew how to cure all ſorts of Diſeaſes with ſprinkling Water upon the Head and Face.

The Jugglers ſpited at the Woman's Character of me, began to tell 'em that I was of an auſteer melancholy Humour, that I fed upon Serpents and Poiſon, that ſuch Folks

as I eat Thunderbolts. The Savages were aſtoniſh'd at the ſtrange Stories theſe Raſcals made upon me on the occaſion of baptizing the Child; nay, theſe impoſtors added, that we had all Tails like Beaſts, that the European Women have but one Pap in the middle of the Breaſt, and bear five or ſix Children at a time, and a great deal more of ſuch ſtuff to make us odious; and this they did becauſe they thought that what I did would leſſen their Credit, and thereby they ſhould be depriv'd of many a good Treat.

Theſe poor honeſt People, who are eaſily put upon, began to ſuſpect me: when one of them fell ſick, they came and ask'd me whether I had poiſon'd him or no? and threaten'd to kill me if I did not cure him. I had much ado to undeceive them, and I was forc'd more than once to appeaſe them, by giving them Knives, Needles, Awls, and other ſuch like Trifles of little value with us, but much priz'd by the Savages. After which I gave a Doſe of Treacle to the ſick Man, and ſo I quieted them. The Savages often [85] have recourſe to our Medicines, becauſe they find them good; if they don't operate ſucceſsfully, they lay the fault upon the Remedy, and never upon the ill Diſpoſition of the ſick Perſon.

## CHAP. XIX.

*Of the Conſtitution or Temper of the Savages.*

GENERALLY ſpeaking, the Savages are very robuſt; the Men, Women and Children are of an extraordinary vigorous Conſtitution, therefore they are very rarely troubled with Diſtempers. They don't know what it is to cocker and make much of themſelves; thence it comes that they are not ſubject to any of thoſe Indiſpoſitions that our Luxury brings upon us. They are not afflicted with Gout, Dropſy, or Gravel, nor are they feveriſh; they are hardly ever incommoded with thoſe Diſeaſes which the Europeans fall into for want of Exerciſe; they are ſeldom troubled with loſs of Appetite; they are uſually addicted to gormandizing, inſomuch that they riſe in the Night to eat; if by good luck they have Meat or *Sagamite* by them, they fall to it like Dogs without getting up.

And yet they can undergo ſuch long Abſtinences as would doubtleſs be intolerable to the Europeans; ſometimes they faſt two or three days together, when there's a neceſſity for it, and this without diſcontinuing their buſineſs, whether it be War, Hunting, or Fiſhing. The Children of the Savages that dwell towards the North, are ſo harden'd againſt Cold, that in the depth of Winter they run ſtark naked through the

Snow, and tumble about in it, as Hogs wallow in the Dirt in Summer-time. When the Air [86] is fill'd with *Maringouins*, [*i. e.*, mosquitoes] they don't feel their ſtinging.

'Tis true, the ſharp Air they expoſe themſelves to as ſoon as they can run about, contributes in ſome ſort to harden their Skin for any Fatigue; but yet it muſt be confeſt that this great Inſenſibility is owing to a ſtrong robuſt Temper of Body: for tho our Hands and Face are always expos'd to the Weather, yet they are never the leſs ſenſible of Cold. When the Men are a hunting, eſpecially in the Spring-time, they are almoſt continually in the Water, notwithſtanding it be very cold; and yet they come out of it freſh and gay, and return to their Cabins without complaining.

When they go to War, they ſometimes poſt themſelves behind a Tree three or four days together, eating a very inconſiderable quantity of Victuals all that while; and thus they lie hid in ambuſh, waiting to make a favourable Blow. They are indefatigable Hunters, they run very ſwift, and hold it a long time.

The Nations of *Louiſiana*, and of the River *Meſchaſipi*, run much faſter than the *Iroquois;* there are no wild Bulls or Cows which they can't overtake. The Savages of the South, tho inhabiting a warmer Country, and more pleaſant than the North, are no leſs robuſt, nor leſs accuſtomed to Fatigue than the Savages of the North, who ſleep upon the Snow wrapt in a little Blanket, without Fire or Cabin.

The Conſtitution of the Women is no leſs vigorous than that of the Men Savages, nay they are rather more robuſt;

the Women ſerve for Porters, and are ſo ſtrong, that few Men in *Europe* can match them; they'l carry Packs that two or three can hardly lift up: I obſerv'd in my firſt Volume, that they uſually carry two or three hundred Weight, and ſet their Children a top of their Burden, who are not [87] reckon'd into the Weight: 'tis true they walk ſlowly, but they never fail to meet at the rendezvous of the Nation. The warlike Savages undertake Voyages of three or four hundred Leagues, as if 'twere no more than a kind of Walk, as from *Amſterdam* to *Breda:* They don't carry their Proviſion along with them; they live by Hunting, which they follow daily; they take nothing but a Knife with them to make Bows and Arrows with; and in that Equipage they will go a thouſand Leagues, if they are minded.

The Women Savages are brought to bed without any great Pain; ſome of them go out of their Cabins, and retire aſide by themſelves into the next Wood; they come back agen preſently with the new born Infant wrapt up in their Blanket or dreſſed Skin: Others, if they fall in labour in the Night time, deliver themſelves of their Children upon their Mats, without crying out, or making a noiſe; the next morning they riſe, and go about their ordinary Buſineſs within doors or without, as tho nothing had happened. 'Tis further remarkable, that whilſt they are big with Child, they ſtir about, carry heavy Burdens, ſow Indian Corn, and Gourds; and what is more ſtrange than all this, their Children are very well ſhap'd, there are few of them crooked or

deformed, they have no natural Faults in their Bodies; which makes me think, that their Mind might eaſily be faſhioned as comely as their outward Form, if it were cultivated, and if we converſed more with them to poliſh their wild barbarous Humour.

## [88] CHAP. XX.

*A Deſcription of the Savages that go clothed, and thoſe that do not.*

THE Savages of *North America* on the North ſide, according to the report of their antient Men, have always gone cover'd, even before they had any Commerce with the Europeans: The Men and Women cloth'd themſelves with dreſs'd Skins; they are now cloth'd after the ſame manner, but thoſe that have any Commerce with the Europeans have commonly a Shirt, a great Coat, ſuch as the Mariners watch in at Sea, with a Cowl to it, and a Piece of Cloth made faſt before and behind, with a Girdle which comes down to their Knees; beſides they have Stockings without Feet, and Shoes made of dreſs'd Skins.

When they return from Hunting in Spring time, they truck their Skins for Coats, Shoes, and Stockings: ſome wear Hats out of complaiſance to the Europeans: Some of them have Blankets in which they wrap themſelves, holding two Corners of it in their Hands, when they are in their Cabins, they often go quite naked, having nothing but a Piece of Cloth, which they gird about them in Winter; 'tis faſten'd about their Loins, and hangs down between their Thighs as low as their Knees. When theſe Barbarians go to War, or to a Feaſt, they dawb their Faces all over with red

or black, that their Enemies may not perceive they turn pale with Fear; they likewiſe colour their Hair red, and cut it in ſeveral faſhions, eſpecially the Northern Savages: Thoſe of the South cut all their Hair off, or rather they ſinge it off with Stones made red hot in the Fire, till it be ſo ſhort, that it does not cover their Ears: [89] Often-times the People of the North let their Hair hang down in Curls on one ſide, and cut the other ſide cloſe, according to their Fancy. There are ſome that rub their Hair with Oil, and afterwards clap ſome Down, or little Feathers upon their Heads: ſometimes they faſten near their Ears great Plumes of Feathers; ſome make themſelves Wreaths of Flowers, others make 'em of Birchen Bark, and ſome of dreſs'd Skins, that are work'd very prettily; then they look like ſome of *Ceſar*'s Soldiers, who were painted of divers colours: They make themſelves taken notice of for their Fantaſticalneſs.

The Northern Women are clothed like the Men, except that they wear a piece of Stuff made like a Petticoat, which reaches down almoſt to their Knees: When they go to Feaſts, they dreſs themſelves in all their beſt Attire, bedawb their Temples, their Cheeks, and the Tip of their Chin with three ſorts of Colours. The Boys go ſtark naked, till they are capable of Marriage; and even when they are clothed, thoſe Parts, which Nature forbids Men to diſcover, are always left uncover'd, at leaſt if they have no Shirts. The Girls begin to put on Clothes at five or ſix years old; and then they wear a piece of Stuff, that goes round 'em, reaching from their Loins down to their Knees. When we went into their Cabins

to inſtruct them, we obliged them to cover themſelves: this produced a good effect; now they begin to be aſham'd of their Nakedneſs, and cover themſelves a little better than they did formerly.

'Tis otherwiſe with the Women and Girls of the *Louiſiana* and *Meſchaſipi*, which lie Southweſt of *Canada* above a thouſand Leagues from *Quebec;* there we ſee the Girls *in puris naturalibus*, juſt as they came out of their Mothers Belly, till they arrive at a fit Age to marry; mean time they are not at all aſham'd, becauſe us'd to it.

[90] The Men and Women, and eſpecially the Girls, wear about their Necks Sea-ſhells of all Figures; they have likewiſe ſome Shells of about a Finger's length, made like little Pipes, which they wear at their Ears for Pendants; they have Girdles likewiſe, ſome made of Porcelain, others of Porcupines Hair, ſome of Bears Hair, and others of both mixt together.

The more conſiderable Savages carry at their Backs with much Gravity, a little Bag, wherein is their *Calumet* or Pipe, their Tobacco, their Steel to ſtrike fire, and other Trifles. They have Skill enough to make a little Cloke or ſort of Robe with dreſs'd Skins of Bears, Bevers, Otters, black Squirrels, Wolves, Lions, and other Animals: they put 'em on when they go to their Aſſemblies, where they ſit as gravely when they are at Council, as the Senators of *Venice*. But the Savages of our laſt diſcovery betwixt the frozen Sea and new *Mexico*, appear always naked upon all occaſions; from whence I took occaſion to tell Father *Gabriel* one day, whilſt we were

among the *Illinois*, that probably theſe Savages did not ſin in *Adam;* becauſe he cover'd himſelf with Leaves, and then had a Habit of Skins given him after he had ſinned: Theſe Savages have really no manner of Shame to ſee themſelves naked; nay they ſeem to glory in it. When they talk with one another, they often make uſe of thoſe Terms, *Tchetanga*, which are obſcene, and would make me write 'em down, when I was about compoſing a Dictionary, and they nam'd the Parts of the Body to me. Whatever I might ſay to Father *Gabriel de la Ribourd*, I am nevertheleſs perſwaded by the Scripture, that all Mankind are deſcended from *Adam;* and therefore the Savages as well as others, are Sinners, and corrupted by their Birth, and that they will periſh in their Sins if they don't receive the Goſpel; for there is no other name by which Men can be ſaved, but the Name of Chriſt. [91] I know very well that Habits don't ſave any body; but in ſhort, if theſe poor People would obſerve the Precepts of the Law of Nature, God would work a Miracle in their favour, rather than ſuffer 'em to periſh in their Ignorance; and therefore he would lead 'em into the knowledg of the Truth, by means worthy of his Wiſdom. But theſe unhappy Barbarians violate the Precepts of the Law of Nature, and live in Stupidity, and in the diſorders of a dreadful Corruption, which makes them fit Subjects of God's Wrath. Mean time, Chriſtians, who are guided by the ſaving Rays of Truth, ought to labour with all their power to bring theſe People out of Darkneſs, into the Light of the Goſpel, and the Hopes of Salvation; ſo may they help to extend the King-

dom of Jeſus Chriſt, and draw theſe poor People out of Condemnation. To this end they ſhould eſtabliſh ſtrong Colonies, who by trafficking and converſing with the Barbarians, will diſpoſe them to imitate them; engaging them, by works of Charity, their Inſtructions, and good Examples, and even by the temporal Advantages to be drawn from the Converſation of the Europeans, to embrace Chriſtianity, and grow more tractable and gentle than they are yet.

## CHAP. XXI.

*Of the Games and Sports of the Savages.*

THE Savages of *North America*, have Games for Men, and ſome for Children. The Men commonly play with the Stones of certain Fruits that are red on one ſide, and black on t'other; they put 'em into a pretty large Wooden-platter, not very deep, or into a Baſon of Birchen-Bark, upon a Woollen-Blanket, on a dreſſed [92] Skin, upon a Robe of Bever, or upon a large Coat; they play ſix or ſeven together, but there are but two of them that take hold of the Platter with their two Hands, one after another; they lift it up, and ſtrike the bottom of the Platter againſt the Ground, to huſtle theſe ſix Nuts together: If there come up five red or five black all of a ſide, that's one Game won; for they make three or four Games up, more or leſs, according as they agree upon it. All the Gameſters play one after another. Some of the Savages are ſo addicted to this Game, that they play away all they have to their great Coat, and their furr'd Gown. When they are at play, they bawl as loud as they can ſhout, as earneſtly as if the deciſion of an Empire were in agitation: and all this Noiſe is made as if the Chance were to be forc'd to fall on their ſide. When they ſhake the

Platter, they lay themſelves over the Shoulders at ſuch a rate, that they make themſelves black and blue with the Blows. Theſe Barbarians play often with Straws or Broom-ſprigs, half a foot long, or thereabouts; one of them takes them all in his hand, and then without looking upon 'em, divides 'em into two parts, and gives one to his Adverſary: he that has the even, or the odd Number, according to their Agreement, wins the Game.[1] The Children Savages likewiſe often play at this Game, but they don't follow it ſo eagerly as the Men, becauſe they have nothing to ſtake. The Women or Girls dare not meddle with this Game, I don't know for what reaſon.

The Savages have another Game which is common among the European Children. They take ſome Grains of Indian Corn, or ſome ſuch thing; then they put ſome into their Hand, and ask how many is there: he that gueſſes right, has the Game.

They have another Game that they are mightily pleas'd with, and which in the *Iroquoiſe* Tongue they call *Ounon hayenti;* but 'tis rather a ſort of Traffick [93] and Barter than a Game: they go into two Cabins, ſix into one and ſix into t'other, then comes one with ſome Skins, Clothes, or what elſe they have a mind to truck; he goes to the Door of one Cabin, makes a certain Cry; and they within anſwer him: then he tells 'em, ſinging aloud, that he will ſell or

[1] For full accounts of these and other games played by Indians, see *Jes. Relations*, index, *art.* Indians: social and economic life — games and recreations.— Ed.

truck what he holds in his hands, repeating, *Ounon hayenti:* Thoſe within the Cabin make anſwer with a hollow Voice, *Hon*, *Hon*, *Hon*, *Hon*, *Hon*, five times. The Crier or Seller having ended his Song, throws the Goods into the Cabin, and returns home.

Then the ſix in t'other Cabin, after they have conferr'd about the Price of the things that this Perſon threw into the Cabin, depute one of their Number to ask the Seller if he is willing to take in exchange, a great Coat, a Shirt, a pair of Shoes, or ſuch like Commodity; and then a 2*d* Perſon carries the Equivalent to the other Cabin, or elſe they deliver back their Goods again that they threw in, if they can't agree about it, or if it is not worth as much as what they offer in exchange.

Theſe Ceremonies are accompany'd with Songs on all ſides: ſometimes whole Villages of Savages viſit one another alternately, more for the diverſion of this Game of *Ounon hayenti*, than to ſee one another. This word ſignifies a Bargain, where one gives to receive again. The *Iroquoiſe* Tongue has compound words in it; one of their Terms imports ſometimes five or ſix French words, as the word *Gannoron* is as much as to ſay, This is an Affair of great Conſequence.

Their Children have another Game. They take a Bow and two Sticks, one big, one little: they hold the little one in their right hand, and ſtrike it up as high as they can with the other; another looks where it falls, and throws it up again to him that ſtruck it. This Play has likewiſe ſomething

in it [94] like ſome among the European Children. They likewiſe make a Ball of Ruſhes or Leaves of Indian Corn; they toſs it up, and catch it upon the point of a ſtick. The great People, Men and Women, paſs away the Winter-Nights a telling Stories over the Fire, like the Europeans.

## CHAP. XXII.

*The manner of making War among the Savages; they are very much given to Revenge.*

THE Savages of *America* have almoſt all of them a ſtrong Propenſion to War, becauſe they are very Revengeful: when once they have taken a diſguſt to any one that is not of their own Nation, they muſt be reveng'd ſooner or later, tho they wait an Opportunity to the third or fourth Generation. They are reſtleſs day and night till they have taken Satisfaction for an Affront, by deſtroying, if they can, moſt of that Nation they are enrag'd at: And then they make the reſt dwell amongſt them, and take up their way of living in every thing. The *Iroquois*, whom the Sweeds, then the Dutch, the Engliſh, and French, have furniſhed with Fire-Arms, are reckon'd at preſent the moſt Warlike of all the Savages yet known: They have ſlain the beſt Warriours among the *Hurons*, and forc'd the reſt of that Nation to join with them, to make War together againſt all their Enemies ſituated 5 or 600 Leagues diſtant from their five Cantons. They have deſtroy'd above two Millions of Men, and are now actually at War with the Inhabitants of *Canada*.

If *France* do not ſend Succours of Ammunition and Proviſion to the *Canadans*, the *Iroquois* may be able [95] to ruin

them by the means I have mention'd in my former Volume.

Theſe Barbarians can ſpoil their Neighbours, as we have ſeen by experience: we can gain nothing from them, becauſe all we can plunder them of is worth little or nothing; this fierce Nation I ſay may eaſily ruin the Commerce of their Neighbours, who chiefly ſubſiſt by trafficking for Skins with the Savages. The European Colonies are not yet ſufficiently eſtabliſhed, and cannot ſubſiſt without Commerce, unleſs every thing neceſſary for Life be brought them by Ship; beſides the *Iroquois* are miſchievous and crafty, yet like wild Horſes who don't know their own ſtrength. They are certainly able to ruin their Neighbours, for ſome Reaſons which 'tis not prudent to make publick. They had utterly ruin'd *Canada* long ago, if the Count *de Frontenac* had not won them by gentle Methods. They are the moſt formidable Enemies that the Europeans have in all *America*. I do but hint it here, but am aſſur'd of it, from what I know of thoſe People; I dwelt four whole years among them; I have been ſent in Ambaſſy to them, and they have carried themſelves very friendly towards me.

This People have over-run many different Nations, and thoſe who remain'd, after the defeat of the reſt, have been always forc'd to ſubmit to them. The *Iroquois* have conſiderable Men among them who are their Leaders, and Governours in their Voyages. They have thoſe under their command that will follow them any where, and do all they are order'd: before they ſet out, they provide themſelves

with good Firelocks, which they get in exchange from the Europeans for Skins, and Furs; they take Powder, Ball, Kettles, Hatchets, and other neceſſary Implements in War along with 'em. Sometimes they have young Women and Lads, that go along with [96] them, and in this Equipage they march three or four hundred Leagues.

When they come near the place where they deſign to make War, they march ſlowly, and with much Precaution; then they never kill Deer with their Fire-arms, for fear of being diſcover'd. They only uſe their Arrows upon that occaſion, which make no noiſe in flying. When they would ſhoot, they look carefully round them, for fear of a Surprize. They ſend out Spies, to diſcover the entrance into the Villages, and ſee where beſt to begin their Attack: and if they ſee any one come out of the Village, they ſurprize and take him if they can, which often ſucceeds, for they do all their buſineſs treacherouſly.

There are no Warriours like them in all *America* for Ambuſcades: They lay wait for Men hid behind a Tree, as tho their Deſign was upon ſome Beaſt. They count him a good Warriour that is cunning at ſurprizing his Enemies. If they can eſcape handſomly, after they have given their blow, from their Enemies, they are reckon'd incomparable Fellows. 'Tis not to be conceived how quick they skip round a Tree with their Firelock in their hands, to defend themſelves from the Arrows that are ſhot againſt them. They are very nimble at leaping over the Trees that are

fallen down in the Woods as they run along: There are abundance of theſe Trees of a prodigious bigneſs, which fall with Age for want of Roots.

Their Patience is admirable. When they find they are cleverly hid, they'll tarry behind the Trees two or three days without eating, waiting a favourable opportunity to kill an Enemy: Sometimes they will ſhew themſelves fairly, but that's very rare; and if they were not almoſt certain of their Blow, they would hardly expoſe themſelves, at leaſt if they were not back'd by a great number of their own Men. Theſe Barbarians don't fight after the European [97] manner, becauſe they are not diſciplin'd to it, and can't keep their Ranks ſo well in open Field: So that they can't ſtand a Skirmiſh ſo well as our well-commanded Souldiers: Nevertheleſs when they are once heated and animated, they are incomparable.

They are ſo malicious, that they ſet fire to the Corn of their Europeans when they are dead: They burn their Houſes, which they ſet fire to with lighted Cotton, faſtned to the Point of their Arrows; for then the Fire takes hold of the Boards, or of the Straw that their Houſes are thatch'd with; for the Savages let fly their Arrows with extraordinary Force, ſo the Houſes are ſoon in flames.

There was an *Iroquois* Captain nam'd *Attréouati Onnontagé*, whom I know very well, that treated me very civilly in my Voyage from *Fort Frontenac* to *New York;* we call'd him *La grande Gueule*, becauſe his Mouth was very broad. This Man having miſs'd his aim once, ran into *Montreal* in *Canada*,

*The Cruelty of The Savage Iroquois*

crying, *Hai*, *Hai*, which is a token of Peace: He was very kindly receiv'd, and made much of; nay, they gave him conſiderable Preſents, becauſe they had a mind to have a good Underſtanding with that inſolent Nation. When he withdrew from that place, the perfidious Villain kill'd two Men that were thatching a Houſe.

Some of them told us, that they had been at War as far as the Spaniſh Territories in *New Mexico;* for they ſaid they had been in a Country where the Inhabitants gather'd red Earth, and carry'd it to ſell to a Nation who gave them Hatchets and Kettles for it; and this they ſaid was call'd *the Country of Gold:* but 'tis likely this Story was deviſed by the Savages to pleaſe Mr. *de la Salle* when he was at *Fort Frontenac*, for he greedily heard any one talk of the Golden Mines of St. *Barbe.* I have been among all the Nations of the River *Meſchaſipi*, none of whom except the *Illinois* ever mention'd the *Iroquois* otherwiſe than [98] as certain People, Neighbours of the *Illinois*, from whom they learnt that the *Iroquois* are a very cruel People, tho not ſtout, but only becauſe they have Fire-arms, which they bought of the Europeans: That without them they never durſt attack the *Illinois*, who are valianter, and more dexterous at Bows and Arrows than the *Iroquois.*

Thoſe *Iroquois* that don't go out to fight, are contemn'd, and paſs for Cowards and effeminate Men. Becauſe they have Firelocks, they invade all other Nations between both Seas, that is, from North to South: and no Nation in *America* can ſtand before the *Iroquois* on account of their Firelocks.

This renders them haughty and inſufferable. They call themſelves *Men* by way of Excellence, as tho other Nations were no more than Brutes in compariſon with them.[1] I underſtand very well how to bring the *Iroquois* to a better paſs: but a Man of my Character ought not to talk of theſe Matters but with a great deal of Caution, becauſe the Remedies which I would propoſe, might perhaps be worſe than the Miſchief that might be apprehended from that Nation; nevertheleſs I may diſcover my Sentiments in due time to thoſe high Perſons that put me upon writing this Work.

[1] This sort of arrogance was common to many other tribes; for instance, Illinois is but the Gallicized form of Illini, a variant of *irini*, "the men."—Ed.

## CHAP. XXIII.

*Of the Cruelty of the Savages in general, and particularly of the* Iroquois.

THERE are no Savages in all the Northern *America* but what are very cruel to their Enemies. We are aſtoniſh'd at the Cruelties which the *Neroes*, the *Dioclefians*, and the *Maximins* inflicted upon the Chriſtians, and have their Names in Deteſtation and [99] Horror; but the Inhumanity of the *Iroquois* towards the Nations they make Slaves goes beyond theirs.

When the *Iroquois* have kill'd a Man, they tear off the Skin of his Scull, and carry it home with them as a certain Mark of their Victory. When they take a Slave, they tie him, and make him run after them; if he is unable to follow them, they ſtick their Hatchet into his Head, and there leave him, after they have torn off Skin and Hair together. They don't ſpare ſucking infants: If the Slave can march after them, they tie him every Night to a piece of Wood made in the form of a St. *Andrew*'s Croſs, and leave him expos'd to be ſtung by the *Maringoins*, and other Flies, in Summer-time, and uſe him as cruelly as may be.

Sometimes they fix four Pegs into the Ground, to which they faſten their Slaves by the Feet and Hands, and ſo

leave them all Night long upon the Ground in the ſharpeſt Weather. I omit a hundred other Sufferings which theſe miſerable Wretches undergo in the day-time. When they are near their Villages, they ſet up loud Cries, whereby their Nation knows that their Warriours are return'd with Slaves. Then the Men and Women put on their beſt Apparel, and go to the entrance of the Village to receive them; there they make a lane for the Slaves to paſs through them. But 'tis a lamentable Reception for theſe poor People: The Rabble fall upon them like Dogs or Wolves upon their Prey, and begin to torment them, whilſt the Warriours march on in File, mightily puff'd up with their own Exploits.

Some kick the Slaves, ſome cudgel them, ſome cut them with Knives, ſome tear off their Ears, cut off their Noſes or Lips, inſomuch that moſt of them die in this pompous Entry. Thoſe that reſiſt againſt theſe rude Treatments, are reſerv'd for exemplary Puniſhment. Sometimes they ſave ſome, but very [100] rarely. When the Warriours are entred into their Cabins, the Antients aſſemble themſelves to hear the relation of what paſs'd in the War.

If the Father of a Savage Woman has been kill'd, they give her a Slave for him, and 'tis free for that Woman either to put him to Death, or ſave him alive. When they burn them, this is their manner; They bind the Slave to a Poſt by the Hands and Feet, then they heat red-hot Muſquet-barrels, Hatchets, and other Iron Inſtruments, and apply them red-hot from head to foot, all over their Body; they tear off their Nails, and pluck out their Teeth; they cut Collops of Fleſh

out of their Backs, and often flea [flay] their Skin off from their Scull: After all this they throw hot Aſhes upon their Wounds, cut out their Tongues, and treat them as cruelly as they can deviſe. If they don't die under all theſe Torments, they make them run and follow them, laying them on with Sticks. 'Tis reported, that once a Slave ran ſo well, that he ſav'd himſelf in the Woods, and could not be catch'd again. 'Tis probable he died there for want of Succour. But what is more ſurprizing is, that the Slaves ſing in the midſt of their Torments, which frets their Executioners exceedingly.

An *Iroquois* told us that there was one Slave whom they tormented cruelly; but he told them, You have no Ingenuity, you don't know how to torment your Priſoners, you are mere Blockheads; if I had you in my Circumſtances, I'd uſe you after another manner: but whilſt he ran on ſo boldly, a Savage Woman gets a little Iron Spit heated red-hot, and runs it into his Yard: this made him roar; but he told the Woman, You are cunning, you underſtand ſomething, this is the Courſe you ſhould take with us.

When the Slave which they burn is dead, they eat him; and before his Death they make their Children [101] drink ſome of his Blood, to render them cruel and inhumane. Thoſe that they give their Lives to, live with them, and ſerve them like Slaves: But in length of time they recover their Liberty, and are look'd upon as if they were of their own Nation.[1]

[1] Regarding the treatment of Indian captives, see *Jes. Relations*, index, *art.* Indians: social and economic life — captives. — Ed.

The Savages of the *Louiſiana* that dwell along the River *Meſchaſipi*, and are ſituated ſeven or eight hundred Leagues beyond the *Iroquois*, as the *Iſſati* and *Nadoueſſans*, amongſt whom I was a Slave, are not leſs brave than the *Iroquois;* they make all the Nations round them tremble, tho they have nothing but Bows, Arrows, and Maces. They run ſwifter than the *Iroquois*, and make excellent Souldiers; but they are not ſo cruel: they don't eat the Fleſh of their Enemies; they are content to burn them only. Once having taken a *Huron*, who eat humane Fleſh as the *Iroquois*, they cut off pieces of Fleſh from his own Body, and ſaid to him, You that love Man's Fleſh, eat of your own, to let your Nation know, who now live among the *Iroquois*, that we deteſt and abominate your Barbarities; for theſe People are like hungry Dogs that devour any ſort of Meat.[1]

The *Iroquois* are the only Savages of *North America* that eat humane Fleſh; and yet they don't do it but in caſes extraordinary, when they are reſolved to exterminate a whole Nation. They don't eat humane Fleſh to ſatisfy their Appetites; 'tis to ſignify to the *Iroquoiſe* Nation, that they ought to fight without ever ſubmitting to their Enemies; that they ought rather to eat them than leave any of them alive: They eat it to animate their Warriours; for they always march out of their five Cantons the day after, to fight with their Enemies; for the Rendezvous for next day is always given notice of by theſe Feaſts of humane Fleſh.[2]

[1] This story is told by Perrot (*Mémoire*, p. 103), of an Ottawa chief.— Ed.

[2] See *Jes. Relations*, index, *art.* Cannibalism.— Ed.

If the Europeans would leave furniſhing the *Iroquois* with Fire-arms, who are not ſo dextrous at the Bow [102] as formerly they were, the other Nations on the contrary having always been us'd to it, they would infallibly root out the *Iroquois*, their common Enemies, who dwell four and five hundred Leagues off from them.

The firſt Canton of the *Iroquois* lies Southward; they call it *Gagnieguez*, or *Agniez;* they are Neighbours to *New York*, and have three Villages which I have been in; they make up at moſt four hundred fighting Men. The Second lies Weſtward, and is call'd *Onneiouts*, and make up about a hundred and fifty fighting Men. The Third, which lies Weſtward likewiſe, contains the *Onnontaguez* or Mountaineers, a People ſituated upon the only Eminence in the five Cantons; they border upon the *Onneiouts*. Theſe *Onnontaguez* have three hundred fighting Men, the braveſt of the whole Nation. The Fourth lies about thirty Leagues further Weſtward, where live the *Oiouguens*, divided into three Villages, who make up three hundred fighting Men. The Fifth contains the *Tſonnontouans*, towards the further end of the Lake *Frontenac* or *Ontario:* Theſe People are the greateſt and moſt conſiderable of all the *Iroquois* Cantons. They comprehend in three Villages three hundred fighting Men.

I took notice in my firſt Volume of three or four *Iroquois* Villages on the North-ſide of the Lake *Ontario* or *Frontenac;* but I don't deſcribe theſe five Cantons of the *Iroquois* here, I only treat of their Barbarity and Cruelty; and add, that they have ſubdued a very large Country ſince within theſe

fifty Years; that they have extended their Territories, and multiplied their Nation by the Deſtruction of other People, the Remainder of whom they have made Slaves, to encreaſe the number of their Troops.

## [103] CHAP. XXIV.

### *The Policy of the Savage* Iroquois.

THE Councils held continually by theſe Barbarians for ordering all Affairs, ought to be conſider'd as the main Cauſe of their Preſervation, and the fear all the Nations of *North America* are put in by them. They aſſemble for every little Buſineſs that is to be done, and conſult what Methods they ſhould take to gain their ends. They undertake nothing hand over head. Their old Men, who are wiſe and prudent, watch over the Publick. If one complains that ſome Perſon has robb'd him, they carefully inform themſelves who it is that committed the Theft. If they can't find him out, or if he is not able to make reſtitution, provided they be ſatisfied of the truth of the Fact, they repair the Loſs, by giving ſome Preſent to the injur'd Party, to his Content.

When they would put any body to death for an enormous Crime, which they are perſwaded he is guilty of, they hire a Man, whom they make drunk with Brandy, (for theſe People are very greedy of it) that the Kinsfolks of the Criminal may not ſeek to revenge his Death. After this drunken Man has kill'd him whom they judg culpable, they give this account of

it, that he that ſlew him was mad and drunk when he ſtruck the blow.[1] Formerly they had another way of doing Juſtice, but 'tis abrogated; They had a Feaſt once a Year, which we may call, *The Feaſt of Fools*, for they play'd the fool in good earneſt, running about from Cabin to Cabin.[2] If during that day they fell foul upon any one, or took away any thing, the cunning old Men next day excus'd [104] all, by alledging that he that had done the Miſchief was a Fool, and out of his Wits. Afterwards they made ſome Preſents to wipe off the Tears of the Kindred of the Perſon who was maliciouſly kill'd. His Relations take up with that Excuſe, without proceeding to take Vengeance. Then theſe Antients hir'd ſecretly ſome Perſon, who acted the Fool, and kill'd the Perſon pitch'd upon, whom they had a mind to get rid of.

The *Iroquois* have Spies and hir'd Men amongſt them, who come and go perpetually, and tell them all the News they learn. They are crafty enough in Traffick, and are not eaſily cheated: They deliberate maturely upon every thing, and endeavour to underſtand the Merchandize before they truck for it.

The *Onnontagez*, or *Iroquois* Highlanders, are more ſubtle and crafty than the reſt: They ſteal very cleverly. The *Algon-*

[1] Drunkenness was regarded by the Indians as a sufficient excuse for a crime committed under its influence; they held that the liquor, and not the man who drank it, was responsible for the deed; see *Jes. Relations*, liii, p. 257. — Ed.

[2] An allusion to the Huron-Iroquois feast called Ononharoia, or "feast of dreams," wherein each person desired others to guess what he had dreamed, and to make him presents accordingly. See *Jes. Relations*, under the above title. — Ed.

*kains*, the *Abenaki*, the *Eſquimoves*, and abundance more Savages that have convers'd with the Europeans, are as ſharp and politick as they. We are not to imagine that theſe People are Brutes, and irrational; no, they underſtand their own Intereſt thorowly, and order their Affairs very diſcreetly.

## CHAP. XXV.

*Of the manner of the Savages hunting of all ſorts of wild Beaſts; and of the admirable Induſtry of the* Caſtors *or* Bevers.

THE Savages obſerve the Time, the Seaſons, and the Moons of the Year very punctually, for the better ordering their Hunting. They call their [105] Moons from the Name of thoſe Beaſts which at certain Seaſons appear the moſt. They call it the Moon of Frogs, when the Frogs make their greateſt Croaking; the Moon of Bulls, when thoſe wild Beaſts appear; the Moon of Swallows, when thoſe Birds come, and when they go. Theſe Barbarians reckon thus, becauſe they have no other Names to diſtinguiſh their Months by, as the Europeans have. They uſe the ſame Method for the Names of Men, calling them, Serpent, Wolf, wild Cat, *&c.*

They hunt the Elk and the Goat in all ſeaſons, but more particularly when there is Snow. They hunt the wild Cat and the Marmoſet[1] in Winter, the Porcupine, the Caſtor, and the Otter, in the Spring, and ſometimes in Autumn. They take the Elk in a Gin by the Neck, and the Caſtor in Traps. They kill the Bears with Arrows or Shot, upon the Oaks,

[1] This word should be "marmot," referring to the animal of that name, which is abundant in Canada and the northern United States. The genus is *Arctomys;* the two most common species are the hoary marmot, or whistler (*A. pruinosus*), and the woodchuck (*A. monax*).—Ed.

when they eat the Acorns. As to the wild Cats, they fell the Tree they are upon, and then the wild Dogs[1] fall upon them and kill them. The Porcupines are taken almoſt in the ſame manner, with this only difference, that they kill them with a Hatchet or Fork when the Tree is faln; for the Dogs cannot come near them, becauſe of their Quills, which are ſharper than Awls, and by little and little pierce a Man's Body in an imperceptible manner; and theſe Beaſts would infallibly be the death of thoſe Dogs that ſhould attack them: Theſe Beaſts do not run ſwift, a Man may eaſily overtake them in running. They take the Otters in Traps, where they kill them with Arrows or Shot; they ſeldom kill them with Hatchets, becauſe they are quick of hearing.

They take the Caſtors in Winter under the Ice: they firſt ſeek out for the Ponds where theſe Beaſts frequent: The Caſtors ſhew an admirable Skill and Induſtry in the building of their little Cabins. When they change their abode, they ſeek out ſome [106] Brook in the Woods, and run upwards along the ſide of it till they come to ſome flat Country fit to make a Pond in; then after they have well viewed the place on every ſide, they begin to make a Dam to ſtop the Water: They make it as ſtrong as the Dam of any Pond in *Europe*, of Wood, Earth, and Mud; and ſometimes ſo big, that it will hold the Water of a Pond a quarter of a League long. They make their Cabins about the middle of the Level of the Water, with Wood, Ruſhes and Mud; and they plaiſter it all ſmoothly together with their Tails, which are longer,

[1] Probably a mistranslation; it would better read "the dogs of the savages."—Ed.

and full as broad as a Maſon's Trowel. Their Buildings are three or four Stories high, filled almoſt full with Mats of Ruſhes; and in this place the Females bring forth their young ones.

At the bottom of the Water there are Paſſages higher and lower. When the Ponds are frozen over, they can only go under the Ice: And for this reaſon at the beginning of Winter they make a proviſion of Aſpen Wood, which is their ordinary Food: They keep it in the Water round about their Cabins. The Savages pierce the Ice about the Cabin with the handle of a Hatchet, or a Stake; and when they have made a hole, they ſound the bottom of the Water to find out the *Caſtor*'s Track: When they have found it out, they put in a Net a fathom long, and two Sticks, of which the two ends below touch the ground, and the two ends above come out at the hole which is made in the Ice. They have two Cords fixed to the Sticks to draw the Net when the *Caſtor* is taken.

But to the end this ſubtle Animal may not ſee the Net, nor the Men, they ſtrow upon the Surface of the Ice rotten Wood, Cotton, and ſuch like things. One Savage ſtays to watch near the Net with a Hatchet, to draw the *Caſtor* upon the Ice when he is taken, while the reſt break down the Cabins with a great deal of labour: They often find more than a [107] foot of Wood and Earth, which they are forced to hew with a Hatchet, for it's frozen as hard as a Stone. When that is done, they ſound the Pond, and whereſoever they find a hole, they break the Ice for fear the *Caſtors* ſhould hide themſelves under it; ſo driving them from place to

place, at laſt they force them into the Net. They labour extream hard in this manner from Morning till Night without eating any thing, and for all that do not take above three or four *Caſtors*.

The Savages take alſo in the Spring theſe Beaſts with Traps in the following manner. When the Ice begins to thaw, they obſerve the *Caſtor*'s Paſſage, and ſet a Trap there; they bait that with a branch of the Aſpin Tree, which reaches from the Trap into the Water. When the *Caſtor* finds, he eats it even in the Trap, and then falls upon two great Logs of Wood which kill him. They take the *Martens* almoſt in the ſame manner, with this difference only, that they put no Bait for them.

All the Southern Nations towards the River *Meſchaſipi* are more ſuperſtitious in their hunting than the Northern People, and particularly the *Iroques*. Whilſt I was among them, their old Men, ſix days before the hunting of the wild Bulls, ſent four or five of their moſt expert Hunters upon the Mountains to dance the *Calumet* with as many Ceremonies, as amongſt the Nations to which they are wont to ſend Embaſſies, to make ſome Alliance. At the return of theſe Men, they openly expoſed for three days together one of the great Caldrons they had taken from us: They had wreathed it round about with Feathers of divers Colours, and laid a Gun acroſs over it. For three days together the chief Wife of a Captain carried this Caldron upon her Back, with Flowers in great Pomp, at the head of above two hundred Hunters: They all followed an old Man who had faſtned [108] one of

our Indian Handkerchiefs to the end of a Pole like a Banner, holding his Bow and Arrows; he marched with great Gravity and Silence.

This old Man made the Hunters halt three or four times, to lament bitterly the Death of thoſe Bulls they hop'd to kill. At the laſt Stage where they reſted, the moſt antient of the Company ſent two of their nimbleſt Hunters to diſcover wild Bulls. They whiſpered ſoftly to them at their return, before they began the hunting of theſe Beaſts. Afterwards they made a Fire of Bulls Dung dry'd in the Sun, and with this Fire they lighted their Pipes or *Calumets*, to ſmoak the two Hunters which had been ſent to make the Diſcovery. Preſently after this Ceremony was over, a hundred Men went on one ſide behind the Mountain, and a hundred on the other, to encompaſs the Bulls, which were in great numbers: They killed a great many in Confuſion with their Arrows, and we Europeans ſeven or eight with Shot. Theſe Barbarians did wonderfully admire the effect of our Guns: They heard the Report, but did not ſee the Bullets, and they thought it was the Noiſe that kill'd them; they laid their Hands on their Mouths, to ſhow how much they were aſtoniſh'd, and cry'd out, *Manſa Ouacanche*, which ſignifies in the Language of the *Iſſati*, this Iron does harm to Men and Beaſts: We do not know how it comes to paſs, but we cannot ſufficiently admire how the Noiſe of this round Inſtrument breaks the Bones of the largeſt Beaſt.

It was no ſmall matter of Admiration to ſee theſe Savages flea [flay] the Bull, and get it in pieces; they had neither

Knives nor Hatchets, but ſome few they had ſtole from us, and yet they did it dexterouſly with the Point of their Arrows, which was made of a ſharp Stone: Afterwards they took Stones, and broke the Bones, and with them they ſeparated one piece [109] from another. After they had thus diſmembred the Beaſt, their Wives dry'd them in the Sun, and the Smoak of ſmall Fire, upon wooden Gridirons. While the Hunting laſts, they only eat the Intrals, and the worſt pieces of thoſe Beaſts, and carry the beſt part home to their Villages, which are above two hundred Leagues from the place of hunting.

## CHAP. XXVI.

### *Of their manner of Fiſhing.*

THE Savages that dwell in the North fiſh in a different manner from thoſe of the South: The firſt catch all ſorts of Fiſh with Nets, Hooks, and Harping-irons [*i. e.*, harpoons], as they do in *Europe.* I have ſeen them fiſh in a very pleaſant manner: They take a Fork of Wood with two Grains or Points, and fit a Gin to it, almoſt the ſame way that in *France* they catch Partridges: After they put it in the Water, and when the Fiſh, which are in greater plenty by far than with us, go to paſs through, and find they are entred into the Gin, they ſnap together this ſort of Nippers or Pinchers, and catch the Fiſh by the Gills.

The *Iroques* in the fiſhing ſeaſon ſometimes make uſe of a Net of forty or fifty fathom long, which they put in a great *Canow;* after they caſt it in an oval Form in convenient places in the Rivers. I have often admired their dexterity in this Affair. They take ſometimes four hundred white Fiſh, beſides many Sturgeons, which they draw to the Bank of the River with Nets made of Nettles.[1] To fiſh in this

[1] La Potherie describes (*Amér. Septentrionale*, iii, p. 34) the way in which the fibers of the nettle (*Urtica*) were spun by the Iroquois women into cords, with which they made fish-nets. See also Holmes's "Prehistoric Textile Art," in *U. S. Bur. Ethnol. Rep.*, 1891–92, pp. 3–46.—Ed.

manner, there muſt be two Men at each end of the Net, to draw it dexterouſly to the ſhoar. They take [110] likewiſe a prodigious quantity of Fiſh in the River of *Niagara*, which are extreamly well taſted.

The Fiſhery is ſo great in this place, that it's capable to furniſh with Fiſh of ſeveral ſorts the greateſt City in *Europe*. It's not to be wonder'd at. The Fiſh continually ſwim up the River from the Sea towards the Spring, to find convenient places to ſpawn in. The River of St. *Laurence* receives in this part of *Niagara* an infinite quantity of Water from the four great Lakes of which we have ſpoke, and which may properly be called little freſh-water Seas. This great deluge of Water tumbling furiouſly over the greateſt and moſt dreadful Leap in the World, an infinite number of Fiſh take great delight to ſpawn here, and as it were ſtagnate here, becauſe they cannot get over this huge Cataract: So that the quantity taken here is incredible.

Whilſt I was in the Miſſion of the Fort *Frontenac*, I went to ſee this Leap, which comes from a River in the North, and falls into a great *Baſſin* of the Lake *Ontario*, big enough to hold a hundred Men of War. Being there, I taught the Savages to catch Fiſh with their Hands: I cauſed Trees to be cut down in the Spring, and to be rolled down to the Bank of the River, that I might lie upon them without wetting me; and after I thruſt my Arm into the Water up to the Elbow, where I found a prodigious quantity of Fiſh of different Species; I laid hold on them by the Gills, gently ſtroking them; and when I had at ſeveral times taken fifty

or ſixty large Fiſh, I went to warm and refreſh me, that I might return freſher to the Sport: I caſt them into a Sack which a Savage held in his hand. With theſe I fed above fifty *Iroqueſe* Families of *Ganneouſſe*, and by the aſſiſtance of *Monſieur de la Salle*, taught them to plant the Indian Corn, and to inſtruct their Children in the Chriſtian Religion at the Fort *Frontenac*.

[111] The moſt conſiderable Fiſhery of the Savages is that of Eels, which are very large, of Salmons, and Salmon-trouts, and white Fiſh. The Fiſhery of the *Iroques Agnies* which are near *New York*, is of Frogs, which they take, and put them whole into their Caldrons without skinning them, to ſeaſon their *Sagamite*, which is a ſort of Pottage made of Indian Corn. The Salmon-trouts are taken in many other places of the Rivers which fall into the Lake of *Frontenac:* There are there ſuch quantities of them, that they kill them with Sticks.

They take the Eels in the Night when it's calm: Theſe come down all along the River of St. *Laurence*, and are taken in this manner. The Savages put a large Bark of the Birch-Tree, with ſome Earth upon the end of a Stake, after which they light a ſort of a Flambleau which gives a clear Light; after that one or two go into a *Canow*, with a Harping-Iron placed between the two Grains of a little Fork: when they ſee the Eels by the light of the Fire, they ſtrike an infinite quantity of them, becauſe the great white Porpoſes which purſue them make them fly towards the Banks of the River where the Porpoſe cannot follow, becauſe of the ſhallowneſs

of the Water. They take Salmons with Harping-Irons, and the white Fiſh with Nets.

The Southern People which dwell upon the River *Meſchaſipi* are ſo crafty, and have ſuch quick and piercing Eyes, that tho the Fiſh ſwim very faſt, they will not fail to ſtrike them with Darts a great depth in the Water, which they ſhoot with a Bow. Beſides, they have long Poles ſharp at one end, which they dart moſt dexterouſly: In this manner they kill great Sturgeons, and Trouts, which are ſeven or eight fathom in the Water.

## [112] CHAP. XXVII.

*Of the Utenſils of the Savages in their Cabins; and of the extraordinary manner they ſtrike Fire.*

BEFORE the Europeans arrived in the *North America*, the Savages of the North and the South made uſe (as they do even to this day) of Pots of Earth[1]; eſpecially thoſe that have no Commerce with the Europeans, and can procure no Caldrons or other Utenſils: Inſtead of Hatchets and Knives, they make uſe of ſharp Stones, which they tie with Thongs of Leather in the end of a cleft Stick. Inſtead of Awls, they make uſe of a certain ſharp Bone, which is above the Heel of the Elk: They have no Fire-Arms, but only make uſe of Bows and Arrows.

For to make Fire in a new manner, new, and quite unknown to us, they take a Triangle of Cedar Wood, of a foot and half, in which they make ſome Holes of a ſmall depth: After they take a Switch or little Stick of hard Wood; they twirl it between both their Hands in the Hole, and by the quick Motion, produce a kind of Duſt or Meal, which is converted into Fire; after they pour out this white Pouder

[1] Regarding the use of pottery among the Indian tribes, see Beauchamp's "Earthenware of the New York Aborigines" (No. 22 of N. Y. State Museum *Bulletins*); Holmes's "Ancient Pottery of the Mississipi Valley," in *U. S. Bur. Ethnol. Rep.*, 1882–83, pp. 367–463.—Ed.

upon a Bunch of dried Herbs, and rubbing altogether, and blowing upon this Pouder, which is upon the Herbs, the Fire blazes in a moment.

When they would make Platters, or wooden Spoons, or Porringers, they drill their Wood with their ſtone Hatchets, and hollow it with Fire, and do after ſcrape it, and poliſh it with a Bever's Tooth.

[113] The Northern Nations, who have commonly very ſharp Winters, make uſe of Rackets to go over the Snow; they make them of the Thongs of Skins cut out as broad as little Ribbons, neater than our Tennis Rackets: Theſe Rackets have no Handles, as thoſe of the Tennis Court, but they are longer and broader; they leave in the middle a Slit the breadth of their Toes, that they may be at more liberty to walk with their ſavage Shoes: They will perform a greater Journey in a Day than without them. Without theſe Rackets they would ſink into the Snow, which is commonly ſix or ſeven foot deep, and ſometimes more in Winter; in ſome places it's higher than the higheſt Houſes in *Europe*, being driven into Mountains by the Wind.

Thoſe Savages which are near the Europeans, have at preſent Guns, Hatchets, Caldrons, Awls, Knives, Tongs, and ſuch like Utenſils.

To plant their Indian Corn, they make uſe of Pickax's of Wood, for want of thoſe of Iron: They have large Gourds in which they put the Fat of Bears, wild Cats, *&c.* There is none, but has his leather Bag for his Pipe and Tobacco. The Women make Bags of the Rind of *Linden* Tree, or of Ruſhes,

to put their Corn in: They make Thred of Nettles, and of the Bark of the *Line* Tree, and of certain Roots, whoſe Names I know not. To ſew their ſavage Shoes they make uſe of very ſmall Thongs: They make likewiſe Mats of Bulruſhes to lie upon; and when they have none, they make uſe of the Barks of Trees. They ſwathe their Children as the European Women do, with this only difference, that they make uſe of ſwathing Bands of large Skins, and a ſort of Cotton, that they may not be too hot: After they have ſwathed them, they tie them upon a Board, or Plank with a Skin Girdle; after they hang this Plank upon the Branch of a Tree, or in ſome place [114] of their Cabin, ſo that their little ones never lie in Bed; they hang perpendicularly: And to the end their Urine may not hurt them, they place conveniently a piece of Birch-tree Bark; ſo that it runs away as it were in a Gutter, and touches not the Child's Body.

Theſe Women have ſo great a care of their Children, that they avoid all carnal Commerce with their Husbands, till the Child be three or four Years old: The European Women do not ſo, becauſe 'tis eaſy to ſupply the defect of the Mother's Milk, with the Milk of Cows, and other domeſtick Animals; but they have none of this ſort of Cattel: They avoid therefore the Commerce of their Husbands while they are Nurſes; for if they ſhould prove with child, their Infants would undoubtedly periſh, they having nothing ſutable for a Child of ſeven or eight Months old.

The Savages which have Commerce with the Europeans,

begin to make uſe of Iron Crooks and Pot-hooks, which they hang upon a Stick, which reſts upon two-forked Sticks fixed in the Ground: but thoſe that have no Commerce, make uſe of the Branches of Trees to hang their earthen Pots upon to boil their Victuals.

## [115] CHAP. XXVIII.

*Of the Manner of their Interring their Dead: Of the Feſtival of the Dead, with ſome Reflections on the Immortality of the Soul.*

THE Savages bury their Dead with the greateſt Magnificence they can deviſe, eſpecially their Relations, and particularly their Captains or Heads of their Clans or Tribes: They put on their beſt Attire, and paint their Face and Body with all ſorts of Colours. They put them in a ſort of Coffin made of the Bark of Trees, and they poliſh the outſide neatly with light Pumice Stones; and they make a Place where they bury them in the manner of a *Mauſoleum*, which they encompaſs round about with Stakes or Paliſadoes twelve or thirteen foot high.

Theſe Mauſoleums are commonly erected in the moſt eminent Place of their Savage Borough. They ſend every Year ſolemn Embaſſies to their neighbouring Nations, to ſolemnize the Feaſt of the Dead. All the People of the Northern *America* ſpare nothing to honour their dead Friends and Relations, whom they go to lament: They make Preſents eſteemed among them very conſiderable, as Girdles dyed with Sea-Purple, and Pipes made with the moſt precious Stones that can be found; and in a word with what they look upon to be the moſt eſtimable to the Parents of the

Defunct. They conduct them to the Mauſoleum, muttering a ſort of Prayers, accompanied with Tears and Sighs, before the Bones, whoſe Memory they honour for their great Exploits in Peace and War.

[116] Theſe Savages have particular Ceremonies for the Children of their deceas'd Friends: When they deſign to bury theſe little ones, as ſoon as they are dead they wrap their Bodies in a white pinked Skin in the preſence of their Parents; it's painted with many Colours: After they carry it and place it upon a kind of Sledg, and ſo carry it to be buried: but inſtead of making Preſents to the Parents of the deceaſed Infants, as they do for thoſe of riper Years, they themſelves receive them to wipe away their Tears, which they ſhed in abundance, in the preſence of the Parents.

The Savages have likewiſe a Cuſtom of putting in the Coffin of the deceaſed of riper Years, whatever they eſteem valuable, tho to the value of two or three hundred Crowns: They put there Shoes of pinked Skins, garniſhed with red and black Porcupine, a Pair of Tongs, a Hatchet, Necklaces of Purple,[1] a Pipe, a Caldron, and a potful of *Sagamite*, or Pottage of Indian Corn, with ſome fat Meat. If he be a Man, they bury him with a Gun, Powder, and Ball; but thoſe that have no Fire-Arms, content themſelves with putting in their Coffin their Bows and Arrows, that when they are in the *Country of Souls* (as they phraſe it) and of the Dead, they may make uſe of them in Hunting.

[1] That is, of wampum beads of the purple variety, regarded by the Indians as more valuable than the white.— Ed.

When I was among the *Iſſati Nadoueſſans*, there died one of the Savages, that had been bit with a Rattle-Snake; I came not time enough to give him my infallible Remedy, *viz.* Orvietan in Pouder. If this Accident happened to any one in my preſence, I made them preſently be ſcarified upon the place that was bit, and caſt ſome of the Pouder upon it; afterward I made them ſwallow ſome of it, to keep the Poiſon from the Heart. Theſe Barbarians ſtrangely admired me, that I cured one of their Chieftains, that had been bit by one of theſe Serpents: [117] They ſaid to me, *Spirit*, for ſo they call all *Europeans*, we ſought after you, and the other two *Spirits* your Companions; but we were ſo unfortunate, that we could not find you; leave us no more, we'll take care of you for the future: if you had been with us, our Chieftain, whom you ſee dead, would have been in a condition to have been merry with you: He was excellently well verſed in the trade of ſurprizing and killing his Enemies; he with hunting maintained his ten Wives: He would have been in a condition to have been your Benefactor, if you had been here to ſave his Life: You could have done it eaſily, ſince you have cured ſo many of our Relations; you would have done him this important piece of Service, and ſpared our Tears.

Theſe poor People ſeeing our Method, but not comprehending it, believe we are capable of doing any thing even of arreſting Death: They often admired the effects of the Remedies, which I gave to their Sick, with a deſign to cure their Spiritual Maladies, in bringing them to the Knowledg of the true God, by the Care I took of their Bodies.

I admired how neatly theſe Savages had laid out the dead Corps; they had laid him upon fine Mats, and put him in the poſture of a Warriour, with his Bow and Arrows: They painted his Body with divers Colours; one would have thought at firſt he had been alive. They ſaid I muſt give him ſome Tobacco of *Martineco*, of which I had a ſmall quantity, that the Defunct might have ſomething to ſmoak: This gave me an occaſion to tell them, that the dead did neither ſmoak nor eat in the Country of *Souls*, and that they have no more need of Bows and Arrows; for in the Country whither thoſe Souls go, they go no more a hunting: That if they would learn to know the great Captain, they would be ſo much ſatisfied with ſeeing him, that they would think no [118] more of Hunting, neither of eating or drinking; for the Souls do not need it.

They made but a groſs Conception of what I ſaid to them: afterwards I made them a Preſent of two Fathom of our black Tobacco; they love it paſſionately: Theirs is not ſo well cured, nor ſo ſtrong as that of *Martineco*, of which I made them a Preſent. I made them underſtand, that I gave it them to ſmoak, and not to the deceaſed, becauſe he had no need of it. Some of thoſe Savages preſent gave me an attentive Ear, and were pleaſed with my Diſcourſe of another Life; others ſaid in their Language, *Tepatoui*, which is as much as to ſay *very well:* Afterwards they ſat them down, and fell a ſmoaking, taking no further notice of my Diſcourſe.

I obſerved that the Tears which they ſhed, and the Ceremonies they practiſed, as rubbing the Defunct with Bears

Fat, and ſuch like things, were rather the Effects of Cuſtom, derived to them by Tradition, which ſeems to retain ſomething of Judaiſm, than of any ſtrong *Attache* [attachment] they have for them. I do not abſolutely deſpair of the future Salvation of theſe Barbarians. I believe God will raiſe up ſome proper means to enlighten them with the Light of the Goſpel; for his Holy Goſpel is to be preached to all the World before the Day of Judgment.

## [119] CHAP. XXIX.

*Of the Superſtitions of the Savages, and of the ridiculous things they believe.*

I ALWAYS obſerved that the ſtrongeſt Arguments that can be brought for the Converſion of Infidels are of no value till God give a Bleſſing. How ſhall they believe in him whom they have not heard ſpeak? ſays St. *Paul.* How ſhall they underſtand, if ſome do not preach to them? And how ſhall they preach if they be not ſent? The ſound of the Apoſtles is gone through the World, and their Words are heard even to the ends of the World. I ardently beg that the ſound of the Succeſſors of the Apoſtles may bring to the Paſtures of Life that infinite number of Savages which I have ſeen in my Travels. Great pains have been taken a long time, but as yet no conſiderable progreſs is made, for the generality of them are ſtrongly fixed in their Superſtitions.

Theſe Barbarians are one more ſuperſtitious than another, the Old Men eſpecially; and the Women moſt obſtinately retain the Traditions of their Anceſtors. When I told them it was a Foolery to believe ſo many Dreams and Fancies; they ask'd me how old I was? You are not above thirty five or forty years old, and do you pretend to know more than our Antient Men? Go, go, you know not what you ſay;

you may know what paſſes in your own Country, becauſe your Anceſtors have told you, but you cannot tell what has paſſed in ours, before the *Spirits*, that's to ſay the Europeans, came hither.

I reply'd to theſe Barbarians, that we knew all by the Scripture, which the great Maſter of Life has given [120] us by his Son; that this Son died to deliver Men from a place where burns an eternal Fire, which would have been their lot, if he had not come into the World to ſave us from Sin and from Death; that all Mankind were Sinners in *Adam*, the firſt Man of the World. Theſe Savages, who have a large ſhare of common Senſe, often ask'd me, Did you *Spirits* know of our being here before you came hither? I anſwered them, No: You do not learn therefore all things by Scripture; it tells you not all things, reply'd they.

It requires a great deal of time to ſhew them the Falſity of their Superſtitions, and much more to perſwade them to imbrace the Verities of the Goſpel: There's none but God can do it by the Unction of his Grace and Holy Spirit. But for all this the Evangelical Reapers muſt not deſert the Harveſt. A time will come that Men will prefer the Intereſts of Jeſus Chriſt, before their own: then there will be but one Shepherd, and one Sheepfold.

There are many of the Savages that make the Stories of their Antients the ſubject of their Raillery, but others believe them. I have formerly given an account of the Sentiments they have of their Origine, and of the Cure of their Maladies. They have ſome Sentiments of the Immortality

of the Soul. They ſay there is a delicious Country towards the Weſt, where there's good Hunting, and where they kill as many Beaſts as they pleaſe. It's thither they ſay their Souls go. They hope to ſee one another there. But they are yet more ridiculous, in believing that the Souls of Caldrons, Guns and other Arms, which they place near the Sepulchre of the Dead, go with them to be made uſe of in the Country of Souls.

A young Savage Maid dying after Baptiſm, the Mother ſeeing one of her Slaves at the point of Death, ſaid, my Daughter is all alone in the Country of the Dead, among the Europeans, without Relations, [121] and without Friends: The Spring is at hand; it's time to ſow Indian Corn, and Citruls,[1] or Pompions; baptize my Slave, ſays ſhe, that ſhe may go and ſerve my Daughter in the Country of the Europeans.[2]

A Savage Woman being at the laſt Gaſp, cried out that ſhe would not be baptized, for the Savages that die Chriſtians are burned in the Country of Souls by the Europeans. Some of them told me one day, that we baptized them to make them our Slaves in the other World. Others asked me, if there was good Hunting in the Country, whither their dying newly baptized Infants were going? When I anſwer'd them, that they lived there without eating and drinking, becauſe they are there ſatiated with the Contemplation of the great Maſter of Life: We will not go thither, ſay they, be-

[1] Fr. *citronilles;* the summer squash (*Cucurbita polymorpha*).— Ed.

[2] This story is told of a Seneca woman, in *Jes. Relations*, liv, pp. 93–95.— Ed.

cauſe we muſt eat. If we reply that they will have no need of Food, they clap their Hands upon their Mouths in ſign of Admiration, and ſay, you are a great Liar; Can one live without eating?

A Savage told us one day this Story: One of our old Men, ſays he, being dead, and being come to the Country of Souls, he found there firſt Europeans that careſſed him, and made much of him; after he came to the place where his Country-men were, who likewiſe received him very kindly: There were Feaſts there every day, to which the Europeans were often invited; for there are there neither Quarrels nor War: After this old Man had taken a full view of the Country, he returned home, and recounted all his Adventures to thoſe of his Nation. We asked the Savage if he believed this Story? He anſwered, No, that their Anceſtors related it, but they might tell a Lie.

Theſe People admit ſome ſort of Genius in every thing; they all believe one Maſter of Life, but they make divers applications of it. Some have a lean [122] Crow, which they carry always about with them, and which they call their Maſter of Life. Others have an Owl, others a Bone, ſome the Shell of a Fiſh, and ſuch like things. When they hear the Owl hout, they tremble, and take it for an ill Omen. They are great believers of Dreams. They go unto their Baths to procure good weather for Hunting. They never give the Bones of Bevers or Otters to their Dogs. I asked them the reaſon; they anſwered me, that there was an *Otkon*, or Spirit, in the Wood which would tell the Bevers and Ot-

ters, and after that they would catch none. I asked them what that Spirit was; they anſwered me that it was a Woman that knew every thing, who was the Lady of Hunting. But the greateſt part of them do not believe theſe Fables.

Whilſt I was in the Miſſion of *Frontenac*, a Savage Woman was poiſoned in the Wood by accident: The Hunters brought her into her Cabin; I went to ſee her after ſhe was dead. I heard them diſcourſing near the Body of the Dead; they ſaid they had ſeen upon the Snow the winding Tracts of a Serpent which came out of her Mouth. They related this very ſeriouſly. While they were diſcourſing thus, an old ſuperſtitious Beldam ſaid, ſhe had ſeen the Spirit that had killed her.

I have ſeen a Boy of about eighteen years old, who believed himſelf to be a Girl; and this Fancy wrought ſo ſtrongly upon him, that he acted all things accordingly: He habited himſelf like a Girl, and employed himſelf in their ſort of work. A Savage which we had decoyed into the Fort, and who was the Chief of his Village, told me one day that *Onontio*, which is the Name they give to the Governour-General of *Canada*, who at that time was the Count of *Frontenac*, would come ſuch a day, when the Sun was in ſuch a place: which preciſely came to paſs as he had [123] ſaid. This ſame old Man, who was called *Ganneouſe Kaera*, that is to ſay, the *bearded*, was the only Man of all the Savages which I ſaw with a Beard. The People of the Northern *America* commonly pluck away the Beard when it is but Down, and for this reaſon they have no Beards. I muſt confeſs I knew not what

to ſay when I ſaw the Count *de Frontenac* arrive. This Man had heard no News from any body. When I asked him how he came to know it; he ſaid he had learned it of a Jugler who pretended to foretel things. But I believe their Predictions are rather the effect of Hazard, than of any Commerce they have with the Devil.

## CHAP. XXX.

*Of the Obſtacles that are found in the Converſion of the Savages.*

THERE are many Obſtacles that hinder the Converſion of the Savages; but in general the difficulty proceeds from the indifferency they have to every thing. When one ſpeaks to them of the Creation of the World, and of the Myſteries of the Chriſtian Religion; they ſay we have Reaſon: and they applaud in general all that we ſay on the grand Affair of our Salvation. They would think themſelves guilty of a great Incivility, if they ſhould ſhew the leaſt ſuſpicion of Incredulity, in reſpect of what is propoſed. But after having approved all the Diſcourſes upon theſe Matters; they pretend likewiſe on their ſide, that we ought to pay all poſſible Deference to the Relations and Reaſonings that they make on their part. And when we make anſwer, That what they tell us is falſe; they reply, that they have acquieſced [124] to all that we ſaid, and that it's want of Judgment to interrupt a Man that ſpeaks, and to tell him that he advances a falſe Propoſition. All that you have taught touching thoſe of your Country, is as you ſay: But it's not the ſame as to us, who are of another Nation, and inhabit the Lands which are on this ſide the great Lake.

The ſecond Obſtacle which hinders their Converſion, pro-

ceeds from their great Superſtition, as we have inſinuated before.

The third Obſtacle conſiſts in this, that they are not fixt to a place. While I was at Fort *Frontenac*, Father *Luke Buiſſet*, and my ſelf, were employed a great part of the Year to teach many Children our ordinary Prayers, and to read in the *Iroquois* Language; their Parents aſſiſted at the Service in the Chappel: they lift up their Hands to Heaven, and kneeled, beating their Breaſts, and behaved themſelves with great reſpect in our Preſence. They ſeemed to be moved with our Ceremonies; but they did ſo to pleaſe us, and their only aim ſeemed to be to get ſome Preſents from the Europeans.

But in caſe they had had ſome laudable Deſign, they would quickly have renounced it, becauſe they ſtay no longer in their Villages than till Harveſt be over, which is but a ſmall time: All the reſt of the Year they paſs in Wars and Hunting. Then they carry their Families with them, and are abſent eight or nine Months: Their Children then, which have begun to learn ſomething, forget all, and fall to their former Superſtitions and methods of living. Beſides, their Juglers, and their old Superſtitious Men, minding nothing but their Intereſt, endeavour to create in them a hatred towards us, leſt they ſhould believe what we teach them.

The Merchants who deal commonly with the Savages, with a deſign to gain by their Traffick, are [125] likewiſe another Obſtacle: St. *Auguſtine* long ſince ſaid of them, *Continua eſt in illis meditatio doli, & tritura mendacii;* They think

of nothing but cheating and lying, to become rich in a ſhort time. They uſe all manner of Stratagems to get the Furs of the Savages cheap. They make uſe of Lies and Cheats to gain double if they can. This without doubt cauſes an averſion againſt a Religion which they ſee accompanied by the Profeſſors of it with ſo many Artifices and Cheats.

It muſt likewiſe be confeſſed, that there are ſome Miſſionaries which in part hinder the progreſs. It's hard to learn their Languages, they being ſo different one from another, that they are nothing like. There is then required a great deal of time to be able to teach them the Myſteries of our Religion; and unleſs the Holy Ghoſt inſpire extraordinarily, little Fruit is to be expected from theſe barbarous People.

Beſides, the different methods that are uſed to inſtruct them, retard much their Converſion. One begins by the Animal part, and another by the Spiritual. There are diverſity of Beliefs among the Chriſtians; every one abounds in his own Senſe, and believes his own Faith the pureſt, and his Method the beſt. There ought therefore to be an uniformity in Belief and Method, as there is but one Truth, and one Redeemer, otherwiſe theſe Barbarians will not know what to reſolve.

I put a great deal of difference between the zeal and indefatigable pains of the Miſſioners, and the pretended Succeſſes which are vaunted of in the World. They who are abſolutely diſingaged from the love of Riches, and who have been in the Miſſion among the People of the Southern *America*, have without doubt made a great progreſs in thoſe

Countries. There are forty or fifty Provinces of our Order, where the publick Service is performed. They are in poſſeſſion [126] to preach with Authority, after having deſtroyed Idolatry.

But we muſt confeſs, that thoſe who have laboured in the Northern *America*, have not had the ſame progreſs. They have made it their application to civilize thoſe barbarous People, and make them capable of ſomething of *Policy*. They have endeavoured to put a ſtop to the Current of their Brutal Sallies, and ſo prepare the way of our Lord: notwithſtanding we muſt confeſs they have made little Progreſs. Theſe barbarous Nations, by I know not what fatality of Intereſt, are almoſt as Savage, and have as great an *Attache* to their antient Maxims, to Gluttony, Pride, Curſing and Cruelty, and a thouſand other abominable Vices as ever.

They are the ſame they were forty years ago, and above: And yet many Books are publiſhed of the great Converſions of the *Iroquois* and *Hurons*. We were told for certain, that theſe Barbarians had built as many Churches and Chappels as they had deſtroyed, and yet they are ſtill Enemies of all the good Maxims of Chriſtianity.

I do not deny here but that the Miſſionaries have faithfully diſcharged their Miniſtry: But the Seed has fallen upon an ungrateful Soil, either on the Highway, or among the Thorns; ſo that they'l remain inexcuſable at the day of Judgment, having reſiſted ſo clear Convictions.

Be it as it will, every day a great many Children are

baptized, and ſome grown Men on their Death-beds if they deſire it, which is a great ſtep to Eternity: But as to thoſe in Health, few are converted, and fewer perſevere. But the Pains, and the entire Sacrifice of the Life of a Miſſionary, would be well employ'd, and glorioufly recompens'd, if they had had the Happineſs to convert and ſave one only Soul.

[127] The principal and moſt aſſured part of a Miſſioner conſiſts in the Adminiſtration of the Sacraments to thoſe who go to barter among the Savages. And we may to our ſhame truly ſay, that as ſoon as the Furs and the Bevers begin to grow ſcarce among the Savages, the Europeans retire, and not one is to be found. The Savages reproached us with it once in the Preſence of Monſieur the Count *de Frontenac*, in full Council, at the three Rivers of *Canada*, ſaying, While we have Bevers and Furs, he that prayed was with us; he inſtructed our Children, and taught them their Prayers and Catechiſms; he was inſeparable from us, and honoured us ſometimes at our Feaſts: but when our Merchandize failed, theſe Miſſioners thought they could do no further Service among us.

It's likewiſe true, that the greateſt part of thoſe Miſſions which were eſtabliſhed above forty Years ago have failed: Witneſs thoſe of the great Bay of St. *Lawrence*, of *Riſtigouch*, of *Nipiſiguit*, of *Miskou*, Cape *Breton*, *Port-royal*, of the River *Wolf*, of the Cape of St. *Mary Magdalen*, of the three Rivers, and many more which were eſtabliſhed among the *Hurons* at

the head of this River.[1] Thoſe that were Miſſionaries in thoſe Parts, thought good to quit them, and even *Tadouſſac* it ſelf, to eſtabliſh themſelves at *Chigoutimi*.

If God give me Health and Life, in a third Tome I'll give an account of other Obſtacles more conſiderable, which hinder the propagation of the Goſpel: I'll only ſay in this place, that thoſe that would employ themſelves to the purpoſe in thoſe Parts in this painful Miniſtry, muſt tread under foot the Riches of the World, and content themſelves with a mean Subſiſtence, according to the Doctrine of the Apoſtles.

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[1] Miscou (Miskou) is a small island at the mouth of Baie des Chaleurs, the inlet separating New Brunswick and Gaspé. Restigouche and Nepisiguit are rivers flowing into that bay. Port Royal is the early name of Annapolis in Nova Scotia (Acadia). By "River Wolf" is meant Rivière du Loup, a river in Kamouraska and Temiscouata counties, Que. Cap de la Magdelaine was the headland near Laprairie, in the vicinity of Montreal. Three Rivers is a town at the mouth of the River St. Maurice, above Quebec. Jesuit missions had been conducted at all these places, but many of them were for various reasons abandoned at the time when Hennepin wrote. In some cases, the Indians had removed to other places, or had been exterminated by pestilence, famine, or intemperance. The Acadian missions were transferred to the Capuchins, after the retrocession of Canada to France (1632). The Laprairie mission was transferred (1676) to the present Caughnawaga, opposite Montreal. "The Hurons at the head of this River" is a vague and inaccurate phrase. The Huron missions were destroyed by the Iroquois in 1649–50; and the remnants of that people were scattered in various directions. — Ed.

## [128] CHAP. XXXI.

*Of the barbarous and uncivil Manners of the Savages.*

THE Savages have ſmall regard to the Civilities of *Europe:* They make a Mockery of the Civilities we uſe one to another: When they come to a place, they ſeldom ſalute thoſe that are there: They ſit upon their Breech, and have no regard even to thoſe that come to viſit them. They enter into the firſt Cabin they meet with, without ſpeaking a word: They take a Seat where they can, and after light their Pipe or *Calumet:* They ſmoak without ſaying any thing, and even ſo go away again.

When they enter into a Houſe built and furniſhed after the European Mode, they take the chief place: If there be a Chair before the middle of the Fire, they ſeize upon it, and never riſe up for any body, tho he were a Prince or a King. They look upon themſelves as the beſt Men of the World.

In the Northern Parts the Men and Women hide nothing but their Nakedneſs; all elſe is expoſed to view. The Savages of the South are quite naked, having not the leaſt ſentiment of Shame: They do the Neceſſities of Nature before all the World, without the leaſt ſcruple, and without regard to any Man. They treat their Elders with great Incivility when

they are out of Council. The common Diſcourſe both of Men and Women is down-right Bawdy.

But as to the Commerce which Men have with their Wives, for the moſt part it's in private: But ſometimes it's done with ſo little Precaution, that they are often ſurprized. Beſides, the Savages obſerve [129] none of the Rules of that natural Honeſty which is uſed among the Europeans of both Sexes. They never practiſe any Careſſes or Endearments, which are common among the People of *Europe;* all is done groſly, and with a great deal of Brutality.

They never waſh their Platters made of Wood or Bark, nor their Spoons. When the Savage Women have cleaned their little Infants with their hands, they wipe them very ſuperficially upon a piece of Bark, after which they will handle the Meat that they eat. This often turned my Stomach, that I could not eat with them when I was invited to their Cabins. They ſeldom or never waſh their Hands or Face.

The Children ſhew but ſmall Reſpect to their Parents: Sometimes they will beat them without being chaſtiſed for it; for they think Correction would intimidate them, and make them bad Souldiers. They eat ſometimes ſnuffling and blowing like Beaſts. As ſoon as they enter into a Cabin, they fall a ſmoaking. If they find a Pot covered, they make no difficulty to take off the Lid to ſee what's in it. They eat in the Platter where their Dogs have eaten, without wiping it. When they eat fat Meat, they rub their Hands upon their Face and Hair to clean them: They are perpetually belching.

Thoſe that have trucked Shirts with the Europeans, never waſh them; they commonly let them rot on their backs: They ſeldom cut their Nails: They ſeldom waſh the Meat they dreſs. Their Cabins in the North are commonly filthy. I was ſurprized one day to ſee an old Woman bite the Hair of a Child, and eat the Lice. The Women are not aſhamed to make water before all the World: but they had rather go a League in the Woods than any body ſhould ſee them go to ſtool. When the Children have piſſed their Coverlets, they caſt away their [130] piſs with their hands. One may often ſee them eat lying along like Dogs. In a word, they act every thing brutally.

For all that there are many things found among them honeſt and civil. When any one enters into their Cabins when they are eating, they commonly preſent him with a plate-full of Meat, and they are extreamly pleaſed when all is eaten that they give. They had rather faſt two days without Victuals, than let you go without heartily preſenting you with part of all they have. If by chance the Portions be diſtributed when one comes in, the Wife who makes the Diſtribution orders the matter ſo, that ſhe gives [her] ſhare to the New-comer.

Some Savages preſented us the fineſt Mats, and the beſt place in the Cabin, when we paid them a Viſit. Thoſe who frequent the Company of Europeans, ſalute us when they meet us. It's likewiſe the Cuſtom of theſe People to return Preſent for Preſent.

Altho they ſhew ſmall Reſpect to their old Men, yet they

have a great Deference for their Counſels. They follow them exactly, and confeſs that they have more Experience, and know Affairs better than themſelves. If an antient Man ſhould ſay to a young Man, by way of Reproach, before others, *Thou haſt no Wit*, he would preſently go and poiſon himſelf, they are ſo ſenſible of Ignominy and Diſgrace. In the Aſſemblies which are held for debating their Affairs, the young People dare not ſay a word unleſs they be asked.

In their Feaſts they often give to the moſt conſiderable of the reſt the whole Head of the Beaſt which they have killed, or the beſt portion of what is dreſſed: They never eat on the ſame Plate, unleſs it be in War, for then they obſerve no meaſures. They have a great Deference for the old Men, in that they leave them the whole Government [131] of Affairs, which is eſteemed honourable among them.

There are few that ſalute after the mode of *Europe*. I knew a Savage who was called *Garagontie*,[1] which is as much as to ſay, the Sun that moves; he one day made an Harangue before Monſieur the Count of *Frontenac;* and every time he began a new Diſcourſe, he took off his Cap, and made a Speech like an Orator. Another Captain of the *Hojogoins* [Cayugas] ſeeing his little Daughter which he had given to the Count *de Frontenac* to be inſtructed, ſaid very civilly to him, *Onnontio*, (for ſo they call the Governour of *Canada*, which word ſignifies a beautiful Mountain) thou art the Maſter of this Girl; order the buſineſs ſo that ſhe may

[1] Or Garakontié; a converted Onondaga chief, who greatly aided the Jesuit missionaries among his people.— Ed.

learn to write and read well; and when ſhe grows great, either ſend her home, or take her for a Wife. Which ſhows you, that the *Iroquois* look upon themſelves as much as the greateſt Perſons in the World.

I knew another *Iroques* who was called *Atreovati*,[1] which ſignifies *great Throat:* this Man eat as the Europeans do; he waſhed his Hands in a Baſon with the Governour; he ſat laſt down at the Table, and opened his Napkin handſomly, and eat with his Fork; and did all things after our mode: But often he did it out of Craft or Imitation, to get ſome Preſent from the Governour. The Count *de Frontenac* was very complaiſant with theſe Savages; becauſe he knew that the *Iroquois* were the Enemies moſt to be dreaded by the French, of all the People in the North *America*.

[1] Otrewa'ti, an Onondaga chief; called by the French Grande Gueule ("Big Throat"), a name afterward corrupted into Garangula.—Ed.

## [132] CHAP. XXXII.

*Of the great Indifferency of the Humours of the Savages.*

GENERALLY ſpeaking, all the Savages of the Nations I have ſeen in the Northern *America*, have an extream Indifference for all things: They have no particular *Attache* to any thing, and ſet no great value upon the moſt precious thing they have: They look upon every thing as very much below them; and if they had a thouſand Crowns, or any thing of equal value, they would part with it without trouble, and give it all to have what they deſire. But of all the Northern Nations there is none ſo indifferent as the *Iroquois:* they look upon themſelves as Maſters of other People, and have often dared to declare War againſt the French in *Canada*, and would have conquered it if they had known their Forces.

Notwithſtanding, their Indifference for all things either of Peace or War, often induced them to make a counterfeit Peace with thoſe of *Canada.* Beſides, they are perſwaded, that unleſs one ſend great Reinforcements thither, they can abſolutely deſtroy them when they pleaſe, and ruin the Commerce. Let the Efforts be never ſo great againſt them, they can never extirpate them; and it will never pay the Charges which will be neceſſary to do it: There is nothing but blows to be got; and it will be a difficult thing to defend ones ſelf

from their Treacheries: One can get but ſmall Booties among them.

Their Indifference is ſuch, that there is nothing like it under the copes of Heaven: They have a great Complaiſance for all that is ſaid to them, and in appearance [133] do all ſeriouſly you entreat them to do. When we ſay to them, Pray to God with us, they preſently do it, and anſwer word for word, according to the Prayers they have been taught in their Tongue. Kneel down, they kneel; take off your Bonnet, they take it off; hold your tongue, they do it. If one ſay to them, Hear me, they hearken diligently. If one give them ſome Image, Crucifix, or Beads, they uſe them as Jewels to adorn themſelves with. When I ſaid to them, To morrow is *Sunday*, or Prayer-day, they anſwered me, *Niaora*, that's well, I am content. I ſaid to them ſometimes, Promiſe the great Maſter of Life never to be drunk any more; they anſwered, *Netho*, I promiſe you I'll commit no more ſuch Folly: but as ſoon as they got *Aquavitæ* [*i. e.*, brandy], or other ſtrong Liquors, which they trucked with the French, Engliſh, and Hollanders, for their Furs, they began afreſh to be drunk.

When I asked them if they believed in the Great Maſter of Life, of Heaven and Earth; they anſwered, Yes. Notwithſtanding, the Savage Women which ſome Miſſioners had baptized, and who were married in the face of the Church with ſome French Men of *Canada*, often left their Husbands, and took others, ſaying, they were not ſubject to the Laws of the Chriſtians, and that they did not marry but with a

deſign to ſtay with their Husbands as long as they agreed together: but if they did not agree well, they were at liberty to change.

It's neceſſary to civilize this Nation before they be made to embrace the Chriſtian Faith. If they be not under the Yoak, it's in vain to labour their Converſion, unleſs God by a particular Grace ſhould do ſome Miracle in favour of this People. This is all I can ſay upon this Subject, founded upon the Experience I as well as many other *Recolets* have had of them.

## [134] CHAP. XXXIII.

*Of the Beauty and Fertility of the Country of the Savages: That powerful Colonies may eaſily be planted on the North and the South.*

BEFORE I enter into the Particulars of theſe charming Countries which are in the North and the South of the Northern *America*, I'll ſpeak two words of the Countries of the North, to the end one may ſee that it's eaſy to eſtabliſh there powerful Colonies.

We muſt confeſs that there are vaſt Foreſts to be rid up, which reach from *Canada* to the Country of *Louiſiana*, all along the River of *Meſchaſipi;* ſo that it would require a great deal of time to clear the Ground. But this is incident to all new Eſtabliſhments.

Conſiderable Advantages were formerly made, and are ſo ſtill, from the Fiſhery, of which they dried one part, becauſe they ſold them in the hot Countries; in which Traffick were imployed in the paſt Age a thouſand or twelve hundred Veſſels. The great Bank of *Newfoundland*, the adjacent Banks, the neighbouring Iſles, Cape *Breton*, the broken Iſland,[1] and *Acadia*, have the moſt Fiſh in the World. I do

[1] Probably he means Isle Percée ("the pierced island"), a small island on the east coast of Gaspé; it has even now the most extensive cod-fishery in Quebec province.— Ed.

not ſpeak here of the Fiſhery of the North, which *France* pretends a Right to, under the Title of the firſt Poſſeſſors. Theſe Fiſheries would be inexhauſtible Mines for the Kingdom, which could not be taken from it, if they were ſupported by good Colonies. A great many Veſſels might go every Year to fiſh for the Porpoſe, the Whale, and the Sea-wolf [*i. e.*, Seal], which would furniſh us with an infinite quantity of Oil for [135] our Domeſtick Manufactures, of which a part might be tranſported into Foreign Countries.

It's granted that the Traffick of Fiſhing which is upon theſe Coaſts of *Canada*, gave birth to the firſt Eſtabliſhments which were made in thoſe Parts of *America*. There has not been time enough, nor Means to ſearch the Country for Mines; without doubt there are Mines of Tin, Lead, Copper and Iron in many places, which are left for the Diſcovery of future Ages. The Country, by reaſon of the vaſt Foreſts, will furniſh all ſorts of Wood neceſſary to compleat the Mines. In many places is found a ſort of baſtard Marble, and great Bands of Coal fit for the Forges; there is alſo a ſort of Plaiſter which much reſembles Alabaſter.

The further one advances into the Country, the more beautiful Foreſts are found, full of gummy Trees, fit to make Pitch for Ships, as alſo infinite ſtore of Trees fit for Maſts, of Pines, Firs, Cedars, Maples, fit for all ſorts of Work, eſpecially for the building of Ships: Great Men of War might be built there, Mariners might always find imploy enough, and get ſufficient to maintain their Families; they would become abler Sea-men by this Navigation and Com-

merce of the Weſt, than of the *Levant*, and their Experience would be greater.

At the firſt beginning of the Eſtabliſhment of the Colony in *Canada*, the Community gain'd every Year a hundred thouſand Crowns, beſides the Gains of private Perſons. In the Year 1687, this Sum was tripled and above, by the Furs which were ſent to *France:* And tho the Merchants are forc'd to advance further into the Country than at firſt, it's notwithſtanding an inexhauſtible Commerce, as we have obſerved, by the great Diſcoveries we have made.

It muſt be granted, that there are no Nations in *Europe* that have ſuch an Inclination for Colonies as [136] the *Engliſh* and the *Hollanders:* The Genius of thoſe People will not permit them to be idle at home. So the vaſt Countries of *America* which I have deſcribed, may be made the Soul of their Commerce. Private Perſons who ſhall undertake it, without intereſting their own Country, may bring it to a happy iſſue: They may eaſily contract Alliances with the Savages, and civilize them. The Colonies which they ſhall eſtabliſh there will quickly be well peopled, and they may fortify themſelves there at a very ſmall Expence: They may content themſelves at firſt with a moderate Gain, but in a ſhort time it will be extreamly conſiderable.

There are in *England* and *Holland* a great many ſorts of Merchandizes and Manufactures of all ſorts, which cannot be conſumed upon the place, but in time here might be had a prodigious utterance of them. And from hence one may better learn to underſtand, than hitherto we have done, the

admirable Providence of God, whoſe Will and Pleaſure it was that every Country in the World ſhould not be equally furniſhed with all things, to the end Society and Commerce between different Nations might be eſtabliſhed, and the glad Tidings of the Goſpel be divulged to the ends of the World.

It is ſomething great and glorious to gain Battles, and ſubdue rebellious Subjects; but it's infinitely more glorious to gain Souls to Chriſt: And I muſt needs ſay, that the principal aim I propoſe in publiſhing this great Diſcovery, is to animate Chriſtians to extend the Dominions of our Saviour, and to aggrandize his Empire.

It's certain, to return to our Diſcourſe of Trade and Commerce, that the Trade of Furs in the North is of infinite Profit and Advantage. There are to be had Skins of Elks or *Orignaux*,[1] as they are called in *Canada*, of Bears, Bevers, of the white Wolf or [137] Lynx, of black Foxes, which are wonderfully beautiful, which were ſometimes valued at five or ſix hundred Franks; of common Foxes, Otters, Martens, wild Cats, wild Goats, Harts, Porcupines; of Turkies, which are of an extraordinary bigneſs, Buſtards, and an infinity of other Animals, whoſe Names I know not.

There may be catch'd, as I ſaid before, Sturgeons, Salmons, Piques [Pikes], Carps, large Breams, Eels, Sword-fiſh, Gilt-heads, Barbels of an extraordinary bigneſs, and other

[1] *Orignal* is a name (of Basque origin) given in Canada to the moose (often called also "Canadian elk").—Ed.

ſorts of Fiſh without number. There is infinite Gain for the Fowlers: There is an infinity of Sea-Larks, which are a lump of Fat: There are Partridges, Ducks of all ſorts, Huars, a kind of Dottrel, which imitates Mens Voices, which have an admirable diverſity of beautiful Colours, Turtles, Ring-doves, Cranes, Herons, Swans, Buſtards, which have a reliſh of all ſorts of Meat when you eat them, and a great abundance of all ſuch like Game.

The great River of St. *Laurence*, which I have often mentioned, runs through the middle of the Country of the *Iroques*, and makes a great Lake there which they call *Ontario*, *viz.* the beautiful Lake; it's near 100 Leagues long, and a vaſt number of Towns might be built upon it. Theſe places having Correſpondence with *New York*, judicious Perſons will eaſily ſee of what vaſt Profit the Trade will be; and here it's to be obſerved, that the middle of this River is nearer *New York* than *Quebec*, the Capital City of *Canada*.

The River of St. *Laurence* on the South[1] has a Branch which comes from a Nation which is called *Nez*, or the *Outtaouaets;* on the North are the *Algonquins*, where the *French* have taken poſſeſſion: Towards the Eaſt dwells the Nation of *Wolves* [Mohicans] near *New Holland* or *York:* On the South of the ſame River is ſituated *New England* or *Boſton*, where are many [138] trading Ships: On the South-weſt is

[1] This should be "North"; the reference is evidently to the Ottawa River, and the tribe of the same name. By "Nez," Hennepin apparently means the Amikoués, or Beaver tribe — known to the French as Nez Percés ("Pierced Noses"); they were located on the north side of Georgian Bay.— Ed.

*Virginia*, which together with *New Holland* was formerly called *New Sweedland*[1]: On the Eaſt [*sc.* West] is the Country of the *Hurons*, ſo called, becauſe they burn their Hair, and leave but a little Tuft upon their Head, which ſtares like a wild Boar's Briſtles. This Nation has been almoſt deſtroy'd by the *Iroques*, who have incorporated the Remainder among themſelves. I have added many other Countries towards the North of the River of St. *Laurence* in the general and particular Map, which I have publiſhed in the firſt Volume of our Diſcovery.

The great Bay called *Hudſon*'s, is on the North of this River; it was diſcovered by the *Sieur Deſgroſeliers Rochechouart*,[2] with whom I was often in a Canoo during my ſtay in *Canada*. The *Engliſh* have given him a Penſion; and Mr. *Blathwait*, firſt Secretary of War to *William* the Third King of *England*, told me the laſt Year, that *Sieur Deſgroſeliers* was then living in *England*.

This *Hudſon*'s-Bay is ſituated on the North of *New France*, and of the River of St. *Laurence;* it has above four hundred

[1] Referring to the colony planted in 1638 by the Swedes, at the site of the present Wilmington, Del.— Ed.

[2] Médard Chouart, sieur des Groseilliers, came from France to Canada about 1641. His name is inseparably linked with that of Pierre Esprit Radisson, his brother-in-law, in the history of exploration in northern North America. During 1654–56 and 1659–60 they traveled through the region of Lakes Michigan and Superior; and the period of 1668–83 was mainly devoted by them to exploration and traffic around Hudson Bay; during a large part of this time they were in the English service, and one result of their discoveries was the formation in England of the Hudson's Bay Company, 1670. Groseilliers went back to England in 1683, where, so far as is known, he spent the rest of his life.— Ed.

Leagues Extent, and by Land it is not far from *Quebec*, as it may be obſerved in my Charts: Notwithſtanding we count it eight hundred Leagues from *Quebec* by the River to the Sea. And the Navigation it ſelf has ſomething of difficulty, becauſe of the continual Fogs.

While I was at *Quebec*, the *Canadins* told me that *Sieur Deſgroſeliers* aſſured them he had great trouble to get thither by reaſon of the Ice, which was ſeven or eight foot thick, which was driven from the Northward with whole Trees, and the Earth it ſelf together. Birds were ſeen which had there built their Neſts, ſo that they looked like ſo many little Iſlands. I do not affirm that it's altogether juſt as I ſay: But the ſaid *Sieur Deſgroſeliers* and others [139] have aſſured me, that they have paſſed through Ice for two Leagues together, and that it's prodigiouſly thick, one piece upon another, driven by the Winds higher than the Towers of great Cities. So that we are not to admire[1] what Sea-men tell us, that upon thoſe great Banks of Ice they have placed their Forges, and made Anchors.

The *Engliſh* have in *Hudſon*'s-Bay the Forts of *Nelſon* and *Neuſavane*. The Court of *France* ordered heretofore the Traders in *Canada* to drive the *Engliſh* hence; but they had notice of it, and prevented the *Canadins*, by ſending four great Ships to their aſſiſtance.

In the Countries to the North of the River of St. *Laurence* are found Mines of Iron and Steel, which would yield 40 or

[1] The word is here used in the literal sense of its etymology, "wonder at."—Ed.

50 *per Cent.* There are Lead-Mines which would yield about 30 *per Cent.* and Copper which would yield 18: And according to all appearance there might be found Mines of Silver and Gold. Miners were ſent thither while I was there: but the *French* are too quick in their Enterprizes; they would be rich too ſoon, and threw them up, becauſe they did not preſently find what they ſought for.

*Meſſieurs Genins*, the Father and the Son, who were ſent thither to ſee the Work go on, then told me, That ſince the Company did not perform their Contract, they had taken a Reſolution to return home to *Paris*. That if the *French* who were in *Canada* had had as much Patience as other Nations, as Mr. *Genin* ſen. told me at that time, they had without doubt gain'd their Point.

In ſhort, all the Countries upon the River of St. *Laurence* produce all ſorts of Herbage and Seeds. There are all ſorts of Materials, as Oak, and all other ſorts of Wood fit for building of Ships; and the prodigious quantity of Firs furniſh Pitch in abundance. [140] Above all this, the Firs of which we have ſpoke, and Aſhes fit to make Potaſhes of, which may yield more than a hundred and fifty thouſand Livers a Year, and which alone are ſufficient to ſubſiſt a great number of poor People; all theſe things, I ſay, are capable of producing a conſiderable Profit for the ſubſiſtence of the Colonies which may be eſtabliſhed there.

That which is moſt remarkable is, that thoſe who are Maſters of thoſe Countries may keep in awe above a thouſand Veſſels which go every Year to fiſh, and who bring back

Whale-Oil, and a great quantity of Salmon, and Poor-Jack,[1] enough to furniſh whole Kingdoms. All thoſe Ships muſt of neceſſity come to the *Pierced Iſland*,[2] where our *Recolets* have a little Miſſion Houſe near the Fiſhers Huts, becauſe there is no other convenience in thoſe Countries. There is no Fortreſs at the entrance of the River, at leaſt I ſaw none. An Eſtabliſhment in this place without doubt would gain the Trade, and make it very advantagious in caſe a good Colony were ſettled there, which were very eaſy.

In the Deſcription which we have publiſhed of *Louiſiana*, and the Countries of the South, which may truly be called the Paradiſe of *America*, we have made mention of all the Animals, of which we have ſpoke here above; but beſides them, there are a great quantity of Bulls and wild Cows, which have a friſled Wool; they may be tamed and made fit for labour: beſides they would ſerve for Food, and might be ſhorn every Year like Sheep, and as good Cloth made of them as any in *Europe*. The Savages that dwell in thoſe Countries were never able to deſtroy theſe Beaſts, becauſe they change their Country according to the ſeaſons.

There are many Medicinal Herbs which are not in *Europe*, whoſe Effects are infallible, according to [141] the Experience of the Savages: They cure with them all ſorts of Wounds, the Tertian and Quartan Agues; ſome of them purge well, and allay the Pains in the Reins, and ſuch like Maladies.

[1] A popular term for the hake (*Merluccius vulgaris*), a sea-fish of the cod family, but coarser and poorer: it was formerly proverbial as a cheap sort of food.— Ed.

[2] Isle Percée; see page 555, *note* 1, *ante*.— Ed.

There are likewiſe great quantities of Poiſons, as the Rind of the wild Gourd, and others which they make uſe of to deſtroy their Enemies. Serpents are common in ſome Parts, particularly Adders, Aſpicks, and Rattle-ſnakes; they are of a prodigious length and bigneſs, and bite dangerouſly poor Paſſengers: But they have Sovereign Remedies againſt their biting. There are in theſe Countries Frogs of a ſtupendous bigneſs, their croaking is as loud as the lowing of Cows.

There are here all ſorts of European Trees, and many of different ſpecies from ours, as I have already mentioned: Thoſe are, for Example, the Cotton Tree,[1] and many others. Theſe Trees take deep rooting, and become very tall, which ſhews the goodneſs of the Soil. But the greateſt advantage that may be drawn from our Diſcovery between the frozen Sea and *New Mexico* conſiſts in this, as I have ſaid, that by the means of theſe Countries of the South, a Paſſage may be found to *China* and *Japan*, without being obliged to paſs the Equinoctial Line.

[1] *Platanus occidentalis*, or American sycamore.— Ed.

## [142] CHAP. XXXIV.

*Of the Methods of the Savages in their Councils. Their crafty Policies againſt their Enemies, and their Cruelty againſt the Europeans; and how a ſtop may be put to them.*

IT often happens that the Savages exerciſe great Cruelties againſt the Europeans, when they pretend to have been inſulted. Theſe Barbarians make Proclamation of War by three or four old Men in all their Villages: They do it with ſo loud a Voice, and ſo dreadful a Tone, that all that are in their Cabins, as well Men as Women, tremble for fear.

Preſently all the antient Men, and all thoſe who are to ſhare in their Counſels, meet at one of their great Cabins, where the Chief of their Nation dwells: There one of their Chiefs ſpeaks to them always in this manner; My Brethren, and my Nephews, one of ſuch a Nation has killed one of our People. For tho they have but a ſmall occaſion of Diſcontent, they always give out they are killed: We muſt then, ſays the Chief, make War upon them, extirpate them, and revenge the Evil they have done. If all thoſe that aſſiſt at the Council anſwer one after another, *Netho*, or *Togenskè;* and if they ſmoak in the *Calumet*, or Pipe of War, whilſt a little Savage takes care from time to time to ram it with Tobacco; this is taken for an unanimous Conſent of the Nation, and their

Allies. Then one may ſee from time to time Troops of Souldiers marching to ſurpriſe their Enemies, tho they be often very innocent, and 'tis wholly upon the falſe ſuggeſtion of ſome ill-minded Savage.

[143] One day the *Iroques* pretending an Injury done by a French-man of *Canada*, they would not attack the whole Nation, but contented themſelves to diſcharge their Fury upon two of them, whom they killed with Hatchets; after they tied their Bodies to great Stones, and caſt them into the River to conceal this black Action; and there had never been any thing known of it, if after ſome time the Ropes had not broke, and the River brought their Bodies to the Bank.

The Savages perceiving that they were ſuſpected, becauſe they were forbidden to come near the Fort and the Houſes of the Inhabitants, began to fear leſt the *Canadins* ſhould revenge this barbarous Action: To prevent the Effects of it, they went up to the three Rivers, and held a Council of about eight hundred Men: The Reſult of their Aſſembly was, that they ſhould endeavour to ſurprize and cut the Throats of all the People in *Quebec*, the Capital City of *Canada*, at that time but poorly inhabited.

It's hard to keep Secrecy in a Council of ſo many Men at once, who without doubt were not all of one ſentiment: Providence therefore, that watched for the Conſervation of this little growing Colony, permitted that one of the Savages, called *Foriere*, whom ſome of our Order of St. *Francis* had inſtructed at the three Rivers two years together, who had a

great kindneſs for them, gave Advice to one of our Friars, called Friar *Pacificus*,[1] who preſently gave notice to the Government. This obliged them to intrench themſelves in a little wooden Fort, fortified with Stakes, and ill-ordered Paliſadoes. This Savage was highly rewarded, and more was promiſed him, to oblige him not only to diſcover their further Deſigns, but alſo to endeavour to divert them from their Enterprize againſt the *Canadins*.

This Savage acquitted himſelf very well of his [144] Commiſſion: He manag'd this Affair ſo happily, that he not only made them to quit their former Deſign, but fully perſwaded them to reconcile themſelves with the French, and to obtain Proviſions, of which they ſtood much in need at that time. The Savages ſent to this end forty Canoos with Women to fetch in Proviſions. The *Canadins* furniſhed them with as much as the time would permit.

The French received with a great deal of Joy the Propoſitions of Peace, which were made them in full Council by the Savage *Foriere* on the part of the *Iroques*, whom he had appeaſed. They were told that the Chiefs and Captains of the Nation ſhould give up the Murderers to the *Canadins* to diſpoſe of them as they thought good: To this effect their Antients ſhould have Orders to come to *Quebec* to treat on this Affair.

The Propoſition which *Foriere* made to the Savages on this Subject, at firſt frighted them; but afterwards reflecting upon the Weakneſs, and the ſweet Temper of the French in

[1] The Récollet brother Pacificus du Plessis; he died at Quebec in 1619.— Ed.

*Canada*, and relying upon the Credit of Father *Joſeph Caron* a Recolet,[1] whom they eſteemed their Friend, they perſwaded one of the two who was the leſs guilty, to go down with them to *Quebec*. In the mean time the *Iroques* ordered their little Army to make a halt half a League from the French Fort, to expect [*i. e.*, await] the Succeſs of the Negotiation.

The *Iroques* preſented their Criminals to the *Canadins*, with a quantity of Bever Robes, which they gave to wipe away their Tears, according to their Cuſtom. In effect they made up the Buſineſs by their Preſents: It's thus they commonly appeaſe the Anger of thoſe they have provoked, and engage their Allies, make Peace, deliver Priſoners, and as I may ſay, raiſe the Dead: In ſhort, there's neither Propoſal nor Anſwer, but by Preſents, [145] which ſerve inſtead of Words in their Harangues.

The Preſents which the Savages make for a Man who has been murdered, are many; but commonly it's not he that committed the Murder that offers them; but the Cuſtom is that it be done by his Parents, Townſhip, or ſometimes by the whole Nation, according to the Quality of him who was killed. If the Murderer be met with by the Parents of the Defunct, before he has made ſatisfaction, he's put to Death immediately. According to this Cuſtom, before *Foriere*, the Antients and Captains of the Savages began to ſpeak, who made a Preſent of twelve Elk Skins to ſweeten the *Canadins*.

[1] Joseph le Caron was one of the first party of Récollet missionaries sent to Canada (1615), and was superior of the mission from 1617 to 1629, when the English sent all its workers back to France. Le Caron died in 1632.— Ed.

After they had treated, they made a ſecond Preſent, and laid it at the Feet of the *Canadins*, ſaying, It was to cleanſe the bloody Part of the Place where the Murder was committed, proteſting they had no knowledg of this Affair till it was done; and that all the Chiefs of the Nation had condemned the Attempt. The third was to ſtrengthen the Arms of thoſe who had found the Bodies on the Bank of the River, and who had carried them into the Woods: They gave them alſo two Robes of Bever, to repoſe upon, and refreſh themſelves after the Labour they had ſuffered in burying them. The fourth was to waſh and cleanſe thoſe who were polluted with the Murder, and to obtain the Spirit again which they had loſt, when they gave the unfortunate Stroke. The fifth to efface all the Reſentments the *Canadins* might have. The ſixth was to make an inviolable Peace with the French; adding, that for the future they would caſt away their Hatchets, ſo far that they ſhould never be found; which was as much as to ſay, that their Nation being in perfect Peace with the Europeans, they would have no uſe of any Arms, only for Hunting. The ſeventh was to evidence the Deſire they had that the *Canadins* would have their [146] Ears pierced; which is to ſay in their Language, that they would be open to the Sweetneſs of Peace, to pardon the two Murderers the Fault they had committed.

They offered a Quantity of Chains of Sea-Purple-Shells, to light a Fire of Counſel (as they phraſed it) at the three Rivers, where the *Iroques* then were, and another at *Quebec.* They added another Preſent of two thouſand Grains of black

and blue Purple, to ſerve in Wood and Fewel for theſe two Fires.

Here the Reader is to obſerve, that the Savages ſeldom have any Aſſemblies, but they have their Pipe in their Mouth; Fire being neceſſary to light their Pipes, they always have it ready in their Conſults: ſo that it's the ſame thing among them to light a Fire of Counſel, as to aſſemble to conſult. The eighth Preſent was to deſire a Union of their Nation with the *Canadins;* and then they offered a great Chain of Sea Purple, with ten Robes of Bever and Elk; to confirm all they had ſaid.

Whatſoever purpoſe was made at *Quebec* to puniſh the Murderers, to prevent the like Miſchiefs for the future, they were obliged to deſiſt from it, and pardon the Murderers; becauſe they were not in a condition to reſiſt ſuch a powerful Enemy: ſo all was concluded, and two Hoſtages were demanded of the Savages for the performance of their Promiſes. They put into Father *Joſeph*'s Hands two young *Iroques* Boys, called *Nigamon* and *Tebachi*, to be inſtructed. In concluſion, the guilty Perſons were ſent back notwithſtanding, upon condition that at the arrival of the Ships which were expected from *Europe*, this Affair ſhould have its final Deciſion.[1]

I remember when I was in *Canada*, I heard the French often murmur that this Affair was managed thus, and that the Murderers ſhould avoid the Stroke of Juſtice. After

[1] This is only another version of the account given by Le Clercq in *Établissement de la Foy;* see Shea's translation, i, pp. 121–127.—Ed.

this the *Iroques* committed a great [147] many ſuch like Enormities, ſaying they ſhould be quit for a few Skins of wild Beaſts, inſtead of thoſe of the *Canadins*, whom they would flea off alive; and that thoſe of their Nation would not ſuffer ſuch like Actions without a ſutable Revenge, tho the whole Nation of the *Iroques* ſhould periſh to a Man.

In effect theſe Barbarians grew every day more inſolent upon it, and deſpiſed the *Canadins*, as People of no Courage; ſo that whatſoever Face they put upon the Matter in their Treaty, it was only done out of Policy to advantage themſelves by their Commerce of Furs for the Merchandiſes of *Europe*.

We ſee at this day, that the War which the *Iroques* have at preſent with the French in *Canada*, furniſhes us with continual Examples of their Cruelty. The Europeans ought to take away their Fire-Arms, to reduce them, and to make them reſide in one Place, and to live after the mode of *Europe:* This would be the means to convert them to Chriſtianity. The Spaniards took this Method with the Mexicans, who dare not carry Fire-Arms, it being puniſhed with Death; nevertheleſs they are not the worſe uſed, and the Mexicans are as good Catholicks as any in the World and carry the eaſieſt Yoak of any Subjects in the Univerſe.

Our firſt Recollets in the firſt Colony of *Canada*, ſaw a neceſſity of overthrowing the Council of the *Iroques*, which are the moſt redoubted Enemies of the *Europeans:* They obſerved that all the Peaces which theſe Savages made, were only Feints to cover the Breaches of former Treaties. Our

Fathers often repreſented this to the Court of *France*, that to convert theſe Barbarians, and to hinder them from taking Meaſures prejudicial to the Colony of *Canada*, it was neceſſary to found a Seminary of fifty or ſixty young *Iroques* for ſeven or eight years only; after [148] which they might be maintained of the Revenue of the Ground, which might be cultivated during that time. That thoſe Children offered themſelves every day to our Religious by conſent of their Parents, to be inſtructed and brought up in the Chriſtian Religion. That the *Iroques* and other Savages, ſeeing their Children educated in this manner, would form no more Enterprizes againſt the Colony, as long as their Children were in the Seminary, as Guarantees of the Fidelity of their Parents.

## CHAP. XXXV.

*Of the proper Methods to eſtabliſh good Colonies. The Thoughts and Opinions of the Savages touching Heaven and Earth.*

THE Religious of our Order of St. *Francis* can poſſeſs nothing in Property, neither can they according to their Inſtitute, buy or poſſeſs any Revenues. There is no Order ſo fit as ours to ſupport the Colonies that are eſtabliſhed by the Catholicks in *America:* The Truth of what I ſay is ſeen by thoſe which the Emperor *Charles* the fifth ſent into new *Mexico;* where are to be ſeen this day an Infinity of great Families, that have made great Advantages of the Diſintereſtedneſs of our Religious; the beſt Lands have not been ſwallowed up, as we ſee in *Canada*, where we ſee the richeſt and moſt fertile Places in the hands of ſome Communities, who have laid hold of them during the abſence of the Recollects; who notwithſtanding are the firſt Miſſioners of *Canada*, having near fourſcore Years ago attempted the planting of the Goſpel there.

The People of *New France* having earneſtly deſired our Return, after a long forced abſence, we [149] found that the beſt Lands of our Eſtabliſhment of the Convent of our Lady

of Angels,[1] were ſeized upon; where I have often renewed and marked the Bounds which remained, to prevent the Deſigns of thoſe who would ſeize upon the Remainder: But my Deſign is not to tax or offend any body; tho I publiſh thoſe things that may diſpleaſe ſome, I ſhall ſpeak nothing but Truth.

I ſhall not ſpeak here of the great Advantages which have accrued to the four Parts of the World by the Miſſions of our Recollets, it would require large Volumes; I ſhall only relate here the Labours of our Religious in this Age, and the great Diſcoveries made by us in *America*. When the French Colony of *Canada* was eſtabliſhed, our Recollets asked nothing of the Government, but a dozen Men fit for Husbandry-Affairs; which were to be commanded by a ſecular Maſter of a Family, for the Subſiſtence of fifty or ſixty young Savage Children, whilſt our Religious extended themſelves on all ſides in the Miſſion to draw others to Chriſtianity. Theſe Religious expoſe their Lives, and ſubject themſelves to all ſorts of Trouble and Fatigue, in order to plant the Goſpel all over the World.

Our Religious long ago adviſed that Chriſtian Religion, and the Authority of Juſtice, ſhould be ſupported by a good Gariſon, eſtabliſhed in ſome convenient Place in the *Northern*

[1] The convent of Notre-Dame des Anges was built by the Récollets on the St. Charles River, about half a (French) league from the fort of Quebec. After the return of the French to Canada (1632), the house and lands of the Récollets were used by the Jesuits, as the former order was not then allowed to resume its Canadian missions. Permission was finally granted, however, in 1670; and the Récollet missionaries then sent over again occupied their former possessions. A few years later, Count Frontenac, who was their firm friend, built for them a house at his own expense.— Ed.

*America*, which might keep in ſubjection more than eight hundred Leagues of Country all along the River of St. *Lawrence:* There is no way to approach thither, but by the Mouth of this great River. This would be the true means to make Trade flouriſh: The Power of the Prince would be augmented, and his Dominions far extended by the Poſſeſſion of this great River.

There might be joined to this many great Countries which might be ſeized upon in this vaſt Continent [150] upon the River *Meſchaſipi*, which is far more convenient than the River of St. *Lawrence* to eſtabliſh Colonies in: for here may be had two Harveſts a year, and in ſome places three, beſides a great many other advantages. To which may be added, that by this means a great many Countries would become tributary, and might be joined to theſe new Colonies. To this I would heartily contribute, being ready to ſacrifice the remainder of my Days to ſuch a good work.

*Firſt*, To bring to a happy concluſion ſo noble an Enterprize, it's neceſſary that the Princes or States, which would make uſe of our Diſcoveries, ſhould very exactly adminiſter Juſtice. The beginnings of all Colonies are difficult. It's neceſſary therefore to prevent Thefts, Murders, Debaucheries, Blaſphemies, and all other ſorts of Crimes, which are too common with the Europeans that inhabit *America*.

*Secondly*, A Fort ought to be built at the mouth of the River of St. *Laurence*, and above all at the mouth of *Meſchaſipi*, which are the only places where Ships can come. Then the Inhabitants might extend themſelves, and clear the

Ground twenty, or twenty five Leagues round about. They might have ſeveral Harveſts in the Year, and might employ themſelves in taming wild Bulls, which might be made uſe of ſeveral ways: beſides, advantage muſt be drawn from Mines and Sugar-Canes, which are here far more frequent than in the Iſles of *America*, the Ground being richer and fitter for Canes; among which may be ſown great quantities of ſeveral ſorts of Grain, which never come to maturity in thoſe Iſlands. The Climate of the Countries which are betwixt the frozen Sea and the Gulph of *Mexico*, is far more temperate along the River *Meſchaſipi* than in the Iſles above mention'd. The Air is of the ſame Temperature as in *Spain*, *Italy*, and *Provence*. The Men and Women go always [151] with their Heads bare, and are taller than the Europeans.

As to the Sentiments theſe Barbarians have of Heaven and Earth; when they are asked, Who is he that made them? ſome of their more antient and abler Men anſwer, That as to the Heavens they know not who made them. If you have been there, ſay they, you muſt know ſomething of the matter: it's a fooliſh Queſtion, ſay they, to ask what we think of a place ſo high above our Heads; how would you have us to ſpeak of a place that never none ſaw?

But, ſay they, can you ſhew by the Scripture of which you ſpeak, a Man that ever came from thence, and the manner how he mounted up thither? When we anſwer, that our Souls being unfettered from the Body, are of infinite agility, and that in the twinkling of an Eye they mount up thither to receive the recompence of their Works from the hand of

the Maſter of Life; theſe People, who have a great indifference for whatſoever is ſaid to them, and are cunning enough in ſeeming to approve in outward appearance, whatſoever is thought convenient to propoſe to them; being harder preſſed, they anſwer, It's well for thoſe of your Country; but we Americans do not go to Heaven after Death: We only go to the Country of Souls, whither our People go to hunt fat Beaſts, where they live in greater Tranquillity than here. All that you ſay is good for thoſe that dwell beyond the great Lake; for ſo they call the Sea. They further ſay, that as to themſelves they are made in another manner than the People of *Europe:* So that their Converſion does ſolely depend upon the good will and pleaſure of God, who muſt water our planting.

As to the Sentiments of the Savages relating to the Earth, they make uſe of a certain Genius which they call *Micaboche*,[1] who covered all the Earth with Water, [152] which ſeems to retain ſome Tradition of the Deluge. Theſe Savages believe that there are between Heaven and Earth, certain Spirits in the Air, which have power to predict future things; and others that are excellent Phyſicians, for the cure of all ſorts of Maladies. This makes them very ſuperſtitious, and to conſult the Oracles with great exactneſs.

One of theſe Maſter-Juglers, who paſſed for a Wizard and Conjurer among them, made a Cabin be erected with ten great Stakes well fix'd in the Ground. He made a dreadful

[1] A poor phonetization of Missibizi, or Manabozho, the name of an Algonkin divinity (see p. 451, *note* 1, *ante*).—Ed.

Noiſe about conſulting the Spirits, to know if there would quickly fall abundance of Snow, for the better hunting of Elks and Bevers. This famous Jugler cried out all on a ſudden, that he ſaw great ſtore of Elks which were at a diſtance, but that they were coming within ſeven or eight Leagues of their Cabins. This made theſe poor People rejoice exceedingly.

It's to be obſerv'd that when the Jugler, or pretended Prophet, miſſes the mark, they have no leſs eſteem for him; it's ſufficient that he hath gueſſed right three or four times, to gain him a laſting Reputation. I told them that the great Maſter of Heaven, who governs all things, ought only to be addreſſed in our Petitions and Neceſſities. They anſwered me that they knew him not, and that they would be glad to know whether he could ſend them Elks and Bevers; ſo blind are theſe People. I told them once that we Europeans knew how all things were made, and by whom. They told me that if I would go and live with them, they would ſend their Children to be inſtructed. Theſe Sentiments of the Savages let us ſee, that the greateſt good that can be done among them, is to baptize their dying Infants.

The Miſſions of the Northern *America* are far different from others. There is nothing to be found agreeable to Nature, nothing but what contradicts the [153] inclination of the Senſes: One muſt ſubmit to infinite Fatigues, and barren and ingrateful Labour. Notwithſtanding thoſe who apply themſelves with zeal, confeſs they find a ſecret Charm

which inclines them to this work; ſo that if any Neceſſity diverts them from it, they are much perplexed.

This ſeems to me to be a good Preſage for the Miſſions of theſe Countries, and that God Almighty will not ſuffer them always to remain in the Shadows of Death; ſince by his Grace he makes the Miſſioners find ſo much pleaſure in thoſe Labours, ſo contrary to Fleſh and Blood.

Patience is abſolutely neceſſary for this Employ. All along our Travels in *America* we din'd upon the Ground, or upon ſome Mat of Bulruſhes when we were in the Cabins of ſome Savage. A Fagot of Cedar was our Pillow in the Night; our Cloaks our Coverlets; our Knees our Table; ſome Buſhes tied together, our Seats; the Leaves of Indian Corn, our Napkins. We had ſome Knives, but they were of no uſe to us for want of Bread to cut. Except in the time of the great Hunting, and certain Seaſons of the Year, Fleſh-meat was ſo ſcarce that we were oft ſix Weeks, or two Months, without eating any, unleſs it were a morſel of a wild Dog, or ſome piece of a Bear, or Fox, which the Savages gave us at their Feaſts.

Our common Food was the ſame with the Savages, *viz.* *Sagamite*, or Pottage made of Water and Indian Corn with Gourds: To give it a Reliſh, we put into it Marjoram, and a ſort of Balm, with wild Onions which we found in the Woods and Fields. Our ordinary Drink was Water. If any of us was indiſpoſed, while the Sap was up in the Trees, we made a hole in the Bark of a Maple, and there dropt out a

ſweet Sugar-like Juice, which we ſaved in a Platter made of the Bark of a Birch-tree; we drank it as a Sovereign [154] Remedy, tho it had but ſmall effects. There are in the Vallies of thoſe Foreſts great ſtore of Maples, from whence may be drawn diſtill'd Waters. After a long boiling, we made of it a kind of reddiſh Sugar, much better than that which is drawn from the ordinary Canes in the Iſles of *America*.

Our Spaniſh Wine failing us, we made more of wild Grapes which were very good; we put it into a little Barrel, in which our Wine was kept that we brought with us, and ſome Bottles. A Wooden-Mortar and an Altar-Towel was our Preſs. The Fat [Vat] was a Bucket of Bark. Our Candle was Chips of the Bark of Birch-tree, which laſted a ſmall while. We were forced to read and write by the light of the Fire in Winter, which was very inconvenient.

While we were at the Fort of *Frontenac*, about ſixſcore Leagues from *Quebec* towards the South, we made up a little Garden, and paled it in to keep out the Savage Children: Peas, Herbs, and whatſoever Pulſe we ſowed there, grew extremely well. We had had great ſtore, if we had had proper Tools to work with at the beginning of the eſtabliſhment of that Fort, which was but then fortified with great Stakes: We made uſe of ſharp-pointed Sticks, becauſe we had no other Husbandry-Tools. All our Conſolation was, in the midſt of theſe Fatigues, to ſee the Goſpel of Chriſt advanced.

The Savages ſeem'd to have ſome Inclination; they were attentive and diligent in coming to their Prayers, tho they

had none of that openneſs of Spirit which is neceſſary to enter into the Verities of Religion. They came to ſeek Inſtruction with a Spirit of Intereſt, to have our Knives, Awls, and ſuch like things.

I owe the following Thoughts to an excellent Religious Man of our Order, whom I ſhall name in my third Volume, if it pleaſe God I perfect my Deſign.

[155] I make a great deal of difference between the Zeal, the Labours of true Miſſioners, and the pretended Succeſſes which have been ſo often bragg'd of, without any probability of Truth. The Juſtice we are obliged to pay to the painful Fatigues of Apoſtolical Men in *New-France*, is that they cannot be expreſſed: They equal the Enterprizes, Courage, and Sufferings of St. *Paul*, who was expoſed to great Dangers, to Famine, Thirſt, *&c.* Their Silence it ſelf was great and laudable among the Calumnies of their Enemies. But the Conduct of the Miſſioners in the Chriſtian World is juſtified by it ſelf, and puts them above ſuch-like Reproaches, as well in regard of *Canada*, as any place elſe.

Formerly it employed all my Thoughts, as well as thoſe of other Miſſioners among the *Iroquois*, to civilize theſe Savages, to make them capable of Laws and Civil Policy, and to put a ſtop to their brutal Sallies as much as poſſible. I have done my utmoſt to diſabuſe them, and ſhew them the folly of their vain Superſtitions; and ſo I prepared the way of our Lord to the utmoſt of my power. But it muſt be confeſſed the Harveſt was little; thoſe People are as Savage as ever, always fixed to their antient Maxims, to their profane

Cuſtoms, to Pride, Drunkenneſs, Cruelty, being even uncapable of Inſtruction and Obedience. They are the ſame they were thirty or forty years ago. Since the French of *Canada* made a Peace with them, and that the Jeſuits became their Miſſioners, altho they had built as many Churches and Chappels as they had deſtroyed, theſe *Iroquois*, who may juſtly be called the unconquerable *Philiſtines*, have made no progreſs in Faith: To ſpeak truth, we ſee the quite contrary at this day. Theſe Barbarians maintain a cruel War with the French. I muſt confeſs it's hard for me to conceive that Chriſtians ſhould have a War with ſuch brutal People, [156] whom I had managed with all the dexterity I could, during the ſix or ſeven Years I was among them; ſometimes by Embaſſies, which I was charged with; ſometimes by the Inſtructions I gave them for Reading and Writing, and for Religion it ſelf. We continued this warlike Nation in Peace as much as poſſible.

The *Iroquois*, who call the Religious of our Order *Chitagon*, that is to ſay, *naked Feet*, have often regretted our Abſence about the Lake *Ontario*, or *Frontenac*, where they had a Miſſion-houſe. I have often heard ſay, that when a Prieſt of St. *Sulpitius*, a Jeſuit, or any other Eccleſiaſtick of *Canada*, asked them how it happen'd that they gave them no ſhare of their Game, as they were wont to give the *naked Feet?* They anſwered, that our *Recolets* liv'd in common as they did, and that they took no Recompence of all the Preſents that they made them: That they neither took Furs, of which all the Europeans are ſo greedy, nor any other

Recompence, for all that our Religious did for them. This ſhews, that one muſt begin by the Animal part with thoſe People, and after proceed to the Spiritual. And that if, as in the Primitive Church, the Chriſtians of this Age were of one Heart, and one Soul, and wholly diſintereſted, without doubt this Nation would be eaſier converted.

It's true, that while I was a Miſſioner at *Fort Frontenac*, among the *Iroquois*, and that the Jeſuits were ſcattered here and there in their Country, theſe Religious ſerved to other purpoſes than my ſelf: For as thoſe Barbarians are wholly led by Senſe, they then looked upon the Jeſuit Miſſioners as Captains, and Men of conſiderable Quality, as Envoys, and perpetual Reſidents of the French Colony of *Canada*, who maintained the Alliance which was among them, who diſpoſed of Peace and War, who ſerved for Hoſtages when they went to trade in the inhabited [157] parts of *Canada;* otherwiſe theſe Barbarians would have had perpetual Diffidences, and would have been afraid of being detained for want of Hoſtages, and of this Security for their Lives and Goods.

It's obſerved, that the Miſſioners of whom I ſpeak, undertake the Tutelage of the Savages, of which they acquit themſelves very well. They draw theſe Barbarians into their Reſidences, and exerciſe them in clearing the Ground of their Settlements, which contributes much to the Advantage of the Colony, and the Church it ſelf. To their Reputation and Zeal muſt be attributed many conſiderable Foundations for this Miſſion, which they have obtained from many powerful and zealous Perſons, whoſe Liberality they manage as well as

the annual Gratifications of the King for the ſame purpoſe.[1]

Beſides, theſe Miſſions are the places where true Saints are formed, by the Labours of an indefatigable Zeal, a fervent Charity, accompanied with Patience and Humility, and by a great Diſintereſtedneſs; by an extraordinary Sweetneſs, and by a lively and pure Faith: but it's a kind of an Apoſtleſhip different from that of other Nations.

But to ſpeak here one word of the Progreſs of theſe Miſſions. Is it poſſible that this pretended prodigious number of converted Savages ſhould eſcape the Knowledg of a croud of French Canadins, who go abroad every Year from home at leaſt three or four hundred Leagues, to the utmoſt Borders of the diſcovered Countries, to trade, where ſome of them ſojourn whole Years for to barter their Commodities? How happen'd it that theſe devout Churches diſappeared when I travelled through the middle of the Countries? How comes it to paſs, that ſo many Men of Senſe ſhould not diſcern them?

Beſides, it's well known that the Savages come every Year in great Troops into *Canada* with their [158] Canoos loaden with Furs. There is to be ſeen a Concourſe of all ſorts of

[1] The Jesuit missions in Canada were granted, from the year 1647, an annual pension of 5,000 livres; from 1684, they were exempted from payment of tithes; an instructor was long maintained by the King at the college of Quebec; and other gifts and allowances were, at various times, granted them by the government. Besides these, they possessed large and valuable landed estates, given by the King or by private persons. When Canada was conquered by the English (1760), the property of the Jesuits was appropriated by the English government, which held it for more than a century; finally (1871), ceding the Jesuit estates to the Provincial government of Quebec. For further details, and citations of authorities, see *Jes. Relations*, lxxi, pp. 392, 393.— Ed.

Savages, who are as it were the ſelect People of all thoſe different Nations. All the Country are Witneſſes, that in their Manners and Doings nothing appears but Barbarity, without any ſign or mark of Religion. All the Proof they can give, is, that like Idols they aſſiſt at our Myſteries and Inſtructions: for the reſt we may ſee them indifferent, without diſcovering any Faith or Spirit of Religion. It may be called rather an effect of their Curioſity: Some of them come upon the account of Intereſt, others upon a Motive of Fear, or ſome particular Eſteem they have for the Perſon of ſome Miſſioner, whom they often regard as a conſiderable Chief.

All therefore that can be done, is to draw out of the Woods ſome Families which ſhew the moſt Docility, and to diſpoſe them to ſettle in ſome inhabited Place. There are two Villages in the Neighbourhood of *Quebec*, and two other higher up upon the River of St. *Lawrence*, near *Mont-royal*, which are ſeparated from the Commerce of the Europeans. It's therefore in thoſe Parts that the Church of the Savages is to be found. Tho their Language as well as Manners are altogether ſavage, yet for all that thoſe *Neophytes* are kept in their Devoir. Great pains is taken to educate them in Piety, yet not much is gain'd upon their Spirit. There are ſome that are Chriſtians in good earneſt; but there are many entire Families who eſcape from the Miſſioners after having abode with them ten or twelve Years, and return to the Woods to their firſt mode of living.

It may be reply'd by ſome, that we ſee many Chriſtians in *Europe* ſwerve from their Duty, and diſgrace their Char-

acter by a Libertine Conduct; but we do not diſcourſe here of the Corruption of the Manners of the Savages, but of their adheſion to Chriſtianity: It's certain they quite apoſtatize from it.

[159] The contrary has been declar'd in *France*, in ſeveral Relations, which have been publiſh'd upon this Subject, which were order'd to be read to the Penſionaries of the *Urſulines*. It's ſaid, that there are a great many Indians converted, and others ready for the Sacrament of Confirmation, and that ſome of them have received the leſſer Orders. Would to God that all thoſe Churches ſpoke of in the Relations were as real, as all the judicious People of *Canada* know they are chimerical. If they were formerly, what's become of them now? after almoſt an Age they are no more to be ſeen; and yet the Colony of *Canada* increaſes. The Trade is greater than formerly, and it's better known, ſo that the pretended number of Converts would be eaſily diſcovered.

When formerly theſe Relations were read to Perſons who had not that knowledg of *Canada* we have at preſent, it gained Credit with every body according to their Inclinations. It was eaſy to impoſe upon People in this reſpect. But as to me who have been upon the Place, and who have always ſpoke my mind with a great deal of Candor and Liberty, I content my ſelf to appeal to all the Inhabitants of *New France*, who are at preſent fifteen or ſixteen thouſand Souls[1]; I am aſſured they will confeſs ingenuouſly, there is

[1] The population of Canada is given by Sulte (*Canad.-Français*, v, p. 89; vi, 46–48) as follows: In 1681, 9,677; in 1691, 12,000; in 1698, about 16,000.—Ed.

ſcarce any Chriſtianity among the Savages at this day, except ſome particular Perſons, and thoſe in ſmall numbers, very fickle and inconſtant, ready at every moment for any ſmall Intereſt to abandon their Religion.

It may be that ſome Advances are made towards the civilizing thoſe Barbarians, and to make them more polite than they were. But all the Inhabitants of thoſe Countries know, that they are no more Chriſtians than formerly. Notwithſtanding it's very probable that they would have adhered better to the Chriſtian Religion, if they had trod in the ſteps [160] of the Religious of our Order, if they had kept a ſolid Peace with the *Iroquois* and other Savage Nations, and if they had been mingled among the Europeans, to make them more docible and more tractable.

While I was in the Miſſion of *Canada*, I bethought me one day to ask ſome judicious Men, how it happen'd that we had no more Annual Relations of the Miſſions of *Canada*. When thoſe whom I had asked gave me no Anſwer, a certain Perſon who thought no ill, told me, that the Court of *Rome* had order'd that the Relations of foreign Miſſions ſhould be exactly true: That the Congregation *De propaganda Fide* had order'd that no more ſhould be publiſhed that were not of publick Notoriety, and clear as the Sun at Noon. This ſeem'd to me to be a judicious Anſwer.[1]

[1] In the preceding four pages, Hennepin has attacked the missionary labors of the Jesuits in Canada, although without mentioning that order by name. The published reports here alluded to are the annual *Relations* sent by the Jesuit missionaries in Canada to their superiors in France or at Rome; these were regularly published from 1632 until 1672. From that time they ceased to appear, in consequence of an order

Reflecting upon this, we ought to admire the Judgments of God upon theſe barbarous Nations, and to acknowledg his Mercy toward us, that he has been pleaſed to let us be born of Parents illuminated with the bright Rays of the Chriſtian Faith, in a Country where we are betimes formed to Piety, and all manner of Vertues; where the multitude of interiour Graces and exteriour Helps preſent us the means to ſecure our Salvation, if we be faithful.

We ought to give him the Glory that is due to him for the excellent Lights we have received, and which diſtinguiſh us ſo advantageouſly from ſo many Nations who are in the Darkneſs of Error and Blindneſs. This ought to oblige us to make our Election ſure by all ſorts of good Works, ſetting before our Eyes the account we muſt one day give before the dreadful Tribunal of God, of the uſe we have made of all his Graces and Benefits.

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issued (Dec. 19, 1672) by the Congregation of the Propaganda, and enforced by a brief (Apr. 6, 1673) of Pope Clement X, forbidding the publication (without written permission from the Congregation) of any books about missions. See *Jes. Relations*, especially lv, pp. 315, 316.—Ed.

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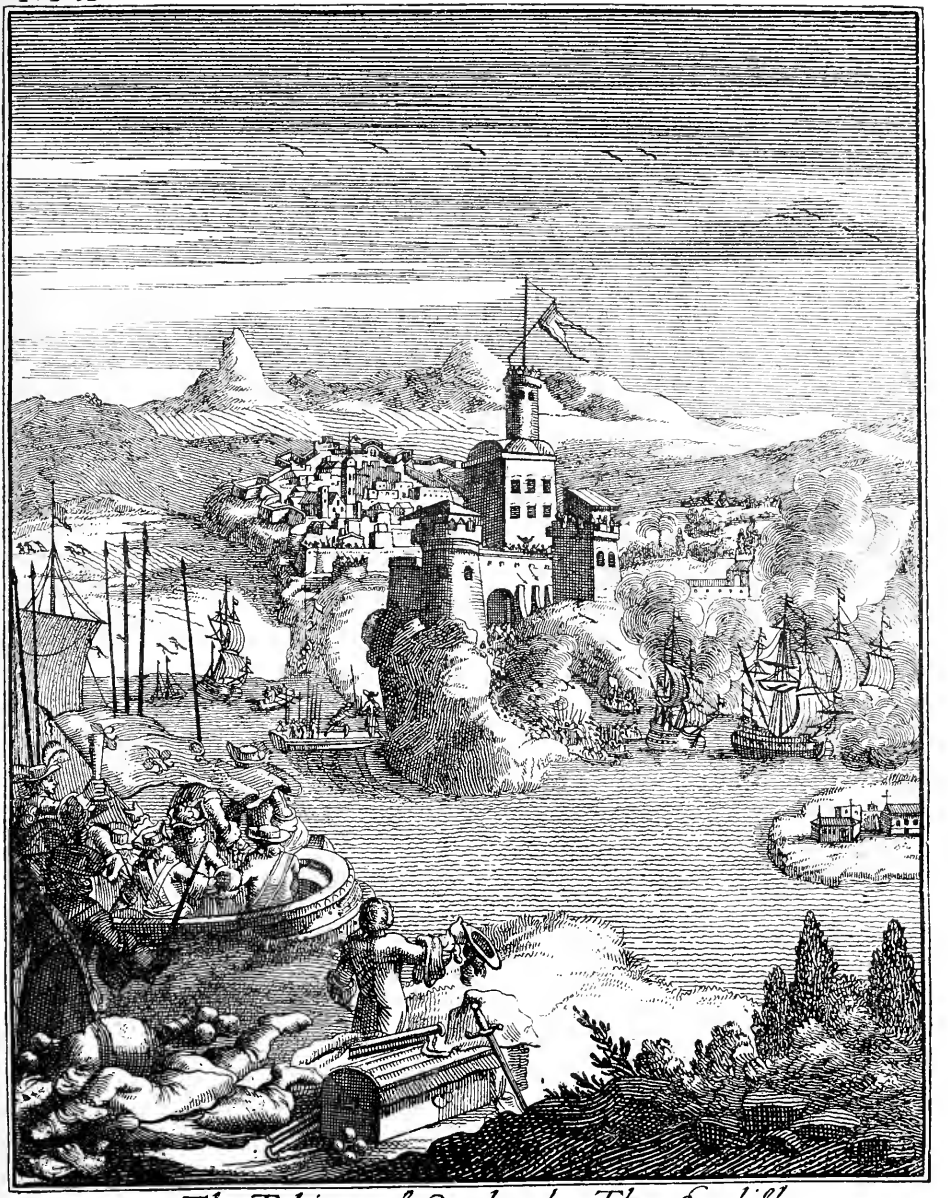

*The Taking of Quebec by The English*

*N Vandor Gucht Scul*

## [161] CHAP. XXXVI.

*The Hiſtory of the Irruption which the Engliſh made into* Canada *in the Year* 1628. *The taking of* Quebec, *the Metropolis of* Canada, *in the Year* 1629. *The moſt honourable Treatment they gave the* Recolets.

I THOUGHT my ſelf obliged to publiſh the Obſervations which I have drawn from the Reverend Father *Valentine le Roux*, Provincial Commiſſary of our *Recolets* of *Canada*, who is a Man of ſingular Merit. I have told you in my firſt Volume, that I communicated to him my Journal of the Diſcovery I made of all the River of *Meſchaſipi*. This Man, who has a deep and piercing Judgment, has publiſhed what he knows of the Intrigues of *Canada* under a borrowed Name[1]; and he ſhews in his Work, that the Conduct of Providence is always admirable, and that ſhe accompliſhes her Deſigns by ways impenetrable, in their Beginning, in their Progreſs, and in their Perfection.

The Colony of *New France*, ſays this clear-ſighted Religious, for a long time flouriſhed more and more; great Diſcoveries were made, Trade advanced, the People encreaſed, Chappels and Oratories were built in many places, and the

[1] See the first sentence of the following chapter (xxxvii). Hennepin here gives a sort of paraphrase of chap. xii in Le Clercq's *Établissement de la Foy*.— Ed.

Country had a new face of Government: But God permitted all this to be ruined by the deſcent of the Engliſh, who pretend that their Soveraign is not only King of three Kingdoms, but alſo of the Sea.

Some Engliſh, zealous for their Nation, armed a Fleet in 1628,[1] to ſeize upon *Canada*, in the Reign of *Lewis* XIII, Father of the preſent King. Two Turtles,[2] [162] of which great Flights are in this Country, fell of themſelves in a very calm time into the Fort of *Quebec* the 9*th* of *July* the ſame Year. The Inhabitants of *Canada* took it for a Preſage of the Change that happen'd.

The Engliſh in their *Route* ſeized upon a French Veſſel which was at the Mouth of the River of St. *Francis*,[3] in that part of the Iſle which is called *Pierced*, becauſe of a ſmall Cape of Land which ſhoots out into the Sea, in the middle of which is a great Arch which is naturally pierced in the Rock, under which the *Chaloups* that fiſh for *Poor Jack* paſs

[1] Reference is here made to the London trading company called "Merchant Adventurers to Canada." Its founder, Sir William Alexander, had obtained from James I of England a grant of all the territory from the St. Croix River to the St. Lawrence, ignoring all French claims to that region. In 1627, Alexander settled a small colony in Nova Scotia; and in the following year David Kirk, another of the associates, seized all the French fishing vessels in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, threatened Quebec, and captured a French squadron sent with supplies for that town. In 1629, he returned to the attack, captured Quebec, and took possession of Canada for England.— Ed.

[2] The passenger pigeon (*Columba migratoria*); formerly abundant, but now practically extinct, in the United States. The word "Turtles" is, however, an absurd error of either Hennepin or his English translator; for this incident, as originally related by Sagard (*Canada*, Tross ed., pp. 831, 832, 887), was that of the sudden fall, without apparent cause, of two small towers (Fr. *tourelles*) of the fort.— Ed.

[3] The Mal Baie River, in Gaspé; Isle Percée is not far from its mouth.— Ed.

when they return from Fiſhing. The Engliſh ſail'd with a fair Wind, and advanced up the River as far as *Tadouſſac*,[1] which is a River that falls into this, and comes from the Countries which are towards *Hudſon*'s *Bay*, as may be ſeen in the Maps.

The Engliſh found a Bark, which they made uſe of to land 20 Souldiers: Theſe were ſent to ſeize upon Cape *Tourment*, ſo called, becauſe of the danger the Ships are in there during the Tempeſts, which are more frequent here than in any part of the River. Two Savages who lived among the Europeans having diſcovered them, gave advice to *Quebec*, which is but about ſeven or eight Leagues from the Cape.

Monſieur *Champlin*,[2] who was Governour of that City, entreated Father *Joſeph Caron*, Superiour of the *Recolets*, to go near the Engliſh Fleet in a Canoo of Bark, to know the Truth. The Advice was but too true. He found it confirm'd about five Leagues from *Quebec*, and had no other time but preſently to run a ſhoar, and ſave himſelf in the Woods. The two Religious we had at Cape *Tourment* came by Land to *Quebec*, with the Sieur *Faucher*, who was Commandant there, to give an account of the taking of Cape

[1] Tadoussac is the seaport village at the mouth of the Saguenay River, Que. This river rises in Lake St. John, into which fall rivers that connect, by portages, with the streams flowing into Hudson Bay.— Ed.

[2] Samuel de Champlain, the great explorer of Canada and the New England coast. His *Voyages*— of which several editions were published during his life, and which has also been translated into English — is one of the prime authorities on early Canadian history and geography. He founded Quebec (1608), and was the first governor of the colony (1612 until his death, Dec. 25, 1635 — except during the English occupation, 1629–32).— Ed.

*Tourment.* The Engliſh there ſeized upon all the Effects valuable, and the Inhabitants fled into the [163] Woods. There were but three that fell into the hands of the Engliſh; one of whom was called *Piver*,[1] with his Wife and his Niece. Soon after they appeared before *Quebec*, accompanied with an Officer of Mr. *Kirk*, Admiral of the Engliſh Fleet.

This Officer ſummoned them by a Letter from the Admiral to ſurrender the Place: but the Governour, who was a gallant Man of his Perſon, tho much *embaraſs'd* with this Invaſion, remaining firm and undaunted, made them ſo fierce an Anſwer, that the Engliſh, who will rather periſh than deſiſt from an Enterprize, believed by this Anſwer that the Fort of *Quebec* was in a better condition than they thought it was. So this time they let it alone, and putting off their Deſign to a more convenient time, they ſet ſail for *England.*

The Engliſh General then putting off the Deſign to the Year following, contented himſelf with taking a great number of Priſoners, which he carried into *England*, and among the reſt a young Savage *Huron*, called *Lewis of the Holy Faith*,[2] who had been baptized two Years before by the Archbiſhop of *Rouen.* The reſt of the Priſoners, doubtleſs with a deſign to be the more valued, ſaid, that that Savage was the Son of the King of *Canada.* The Engliſh General believed that ſo conſiderable a Priſoner would much facilitate the Conqueſt of the whole Country the Year following. But he was much ſurprized when after he had taken *Quebec*, he under-

[1] Nicolas Pivert, one of the first settlers at Beaupré, Que.— Ed.

[2] Louis de Sainte-Foi, whose Huron name was Amantacha.— Ed.

ſtood that the Father of this Savage was a poor miſerable *Huron*, who had neither Credit nor Power in his own Nation. This was the Reaſon that the Son was reſtored in a pitiful Habit: The Engliſh took from him all the Equipage they had given him, as ſuppoſing he had been the Son of a King. The Reputation this Savage was in for ſome time was the Cauſe of his Ruin, and it may be of his eternal Damnation; for being [164] among the Savages, he loſt all the Ideas of Chriſtian Religion.

In the fright that every body was in upon the Arrival of the Engliſh, many Savage Mountaineers came to offer their Service to the *Recolets* of *Quebec:* among the reſt the above-mentioned *Napaga Biſcou*, who having been inſtructed and baptized by Father *Joſeph Caron*, endeavoured to do the beſt ſervice he could to his Benefactor. As ſoon therefore as he could make his Eſcape from the Engliſh, he repreſented to Father *Joſeph*, that if the Enemy did the ſame at *Quebec* they had done at Cape *Tourment*, the Savages would find no Retreat any more for their Comfort during Winter: I beg of you Father, ſays this Savage, that you would be pleaſed to let two or three of your Friars go along with me; they will ſay Prayers for us, and inſtruct our Children, and thoſe of our Nation who have not as yet ſeen any *Naked Feet*, for ſo they call our Recolets: I'll ſupport them; they ſhall be treated as my ſelf, and we'll come from time to time to viſit you.

Father *Joſeph* liked well this Propoſition: the Savage took two along with him, which he led to a place where this In-

dian dwelt, who likewiſe begg'd that Friar *Gervaſe Mobier*, a Lay-brother, might be one of them: they deſigned to paſs that Winter among the *Algonquins*. They preſently therefore departed for the three Rivers, and run a great many riſques in the Journey: Their Canoos were bilged about fifteen Leagues below the three Rivers, ſo that they were forced to go the reſt of the Journey thorow the Woods. They thought to be carried by the Tide, which flows up the River of St. *Lawrence* above a hundred and thirty ſix Leagues from the Sea: At laſt by the help of a Canoo which they light upon by chance, they came to the three Rivers,[1] where were Villages erected by the Mountaineers and *Algonquins:* [165] theſe Savages were expecting there the Harveſt-time for their Indian Corn. They made great demonſtrations of the real Affection they had for them, of whom they had heard much Diſcourſe from Father to Son.

Being there, they underſtood the Engliſh were gone out of the River, and that before that they had fought and vanquiſhed the French Fleet which came into *Canada*. This News obliged Monſieur *Champlin*, Governour of *Quebec*, as well as all the reſt of the French, to deſire Father *Joſeph* to come back.

While things paſſed thus, twenty Canoos were ſeen to arrive, conducted by the *Hurons*, who brought along with them

[1] An appellation of the St. Maurice River, given on account of the three divisions or branches of its current made by two islands which lie near its mouth; a French settlement was founded by Champlain (1634) at its mouth, which is now the city of Three Rivers, Que.— Ed.

Father *Joſeph de la Roche Daillon*,[1] Recolet. The Grief of *Nepaga Buſcon* is not to be expreſſed when he was to part with this Religious: But the Order was peremptory. I cannot here forget the dexterous Contrivance of a young Chriſtian Savage to rid himſelf out of the hands of the Engliſh, or rather to procure ſome Preſent from the French: He was called *Peter Antony Arekouanon*,[2] and had been baptized in *France*, and educated in a College at the Expence of the Prince of *Guimeni:* He was at *Tadouſſac* when the Engliſh appeared there, and ſo was taken Priſoner with the reſt, and carried aboard: he was interrogated in French and Latin, but made as if he underſtood nothing of what he was asked.

Captain *Michel*[3] a French-man, who out of Diſcontent had a long time before gone over to the Engliſh, knew this Savage, and that he underſtood both Languages: He gave an account to the General of it, who kept him for an Interpreter for the Engliſh when they ſhould go to traffick with the Indians. *Peter Antony* could no longer conceal his Knowledg of the two Languages, and that he was a Chriſtian; but he bethought him of a Stratagem: He pretended [166] he would really eſpouſe the part of the *Engliſh*. He told the Admiral he was to keep ſome meaſures with the *French;* and

[1] This Récollet missionary came to Canada in 1625, and labored among the Hurons from 1626 to 1628; he then went to Quebec, and was sent back to France by Kirk in the following year.— Ed.

[2] Pierre Antoine Atetkouanon (according to Le Clercq; but Pastedechouan, in the Jesuit *Relations*, q. v. under that name).— Ed.

[3] Jacques Michel, mentioned in the *Relations* as a Huguenot.— Ed.

above all, that he was much obliged to the *Recollets* who had converted him, and who had taught him what he underſtood of Latin and French. He begg'd of the Admiral, that he would not carry him to *Quebec*, that he could be more ſerviceable to him if he would be pleaſed to let him go to the three Rivers with Canoos loaden with Proviſions and Merchandizes; and that he would induce a great number of Savages to come and trade. The Admiral believed what he ſaid, and granted him all he demanded: But this Man ſeeing himſelf out of the hands of the *Engliſh*, who had treated him very civilly, went ſtraight to the *Red Iſland*,[1] croſs'd the River of St. *Laurence*, came to the River of *Wolves* [Rivière du Loup], and afterwards the Admiral heard no farther tidings of him.

They had a hard Winter of it at *Quebec*, for they wanted all ſorts of Neceſſaries; and becauſe the Ships which brought Proviſions were ſeized on by the *Engliſh*, they were therefore obliged to divide the ſmall Proviſion that was left. Our Religious might have had their ſhare as well as others, but they contented themſelves with Indian Corn, and the Pulſe they had ſown. Madam *Hebers*[2] made them a Preſent of two Barrels of Peaſe, which are extraordinary good and large in *Canada;* beſides they had Raiſins, and had made a proviſion of Acorns in caſe of neceſſity, and they were ſo happy as to catch ſome Eels, which are plentiful in that River.

[1] An island in the St. Lawrence, opposite the mouth of the Saguenay; in early times, noted for its seal-fisheries.— Ed.

[2] Marie Rollet, widow of Louis Hebert; he was the first agricultural settler in Canada (1617). He died in 1627.— Ed.

Providence multiplied their Proviſions ſo, that they were able to furniſh three Seminaries of Savages, and many more who were in great Neceſſity.

The Jeſuits, who for ſome time had made uſe of one half of our Houſe, having built one for themſelves, where they now dwell, did their utmoſt to ſuccour the *French*.

[167] Early in the Spring Monſieur *de Champlin* ſeeing the Neceſſity we were in all Winter, which was very ſharp in *Canada*, inſomuch that for the moſt part the Snow was five or ſix foot deep, and continued ſo, for it ſeldom rains in Winter, begged of Father *Joſeph* to grant him a part of our Lands towards *Hair-point*, or *Point aux lievres*[1]: Some other private Perſons granted other Lands: They were plowed in haſte, and there was ſown bearded Wheat, Peaſe and Indian Wheat, at the beginning and middle of *May*. They were forced to do ſo, becauſe Wheat there cannot endure the Winter as in our Parts of *Europe*, becauſe of the extream Cold.

The ſaid *Sieur Champlin* had ſent People towards *Gaſpeè*, which is between the *Pierced Iſland* and *Boſton*, which belongs to the *Engliſh*, to ſee if they could hear any tidings of any French Veſſel; they went in a Chaloup, but could hear no news of any. But they were aſſured that the *Gaſpeſien* Savages offered to maintain twenty intire Families. The *Algonquins* and Mountaneers offered larger Supplies. A Ship was equipped to go into *France;* the *Sieur de Boulè*, *Sieur*

[1] "Point of Hares"; a headland on the St. Lawrence shore, near Quebec; the Jesuits had a cattle-farm there.— Ed.

*Champlin*'s Brother-in-law, was made Captain of her; he took the *Sieur des Dames*[1] Commiſſary of the Company, for his Lieutenant.

Being come near *Gaſpeè* in the Bay of St. *Laurence*, they happily met with a French Ship commanded by the *Sieur Emeric de Caen*, who brought them Supplies. He told them that the King did ſend the *Sieur de Raſilly* to fight the *Engliſh*, and ſave the Country.[2] The Ship was laden, and the *Sieur de Boulle* returned towards *Quebec*, and then was taken by an Engliſh Veſſel, and was made a Priſoner of War with all his Crew.

In the interim the *Hurons* arrived at *Quebec* with twenty Canoos, we bought their Indian Corn: Monſieur *de Champlin* gave one part to the Jeſuits, who [168] had taken upon them the charge to take care of ſeveral; and our *Recollets* having alſo receiv'd a ſupply of Victuals, ſubſiſted till the arrival of the *Engliſh*, which was not long.

The *Engliſh* Fleet ſurpriſed the *French* in *Canada;* they appeared in the Morning the 19*th* of *July* 1629, over againſt

[1] Thierry Desdames, a naval captain; he came to Canada as early as 1622, and remained until the conquest. Returning after the retrocession of that country, he was commandant at Miscou from 1639 to 1646. —Ed.

[2] Emery de Caen, a Huguenot naval officer, was prominent in the early history of Canada. During 1620–27 he, with his uncle Guillaume de Caen, was at the head of a mercantile company who had obtained the monopoly of the Canadian fur trade; for full account of this and several other commercial companies, see H. P. Biggar's *Early Trading Companies of New France* (Toronto, 1901). He was also provisional governor of Quebec during the first year of the French reoccupation.

Isaac de Razilly, a naval officer of high standing, was ordered to relieve the suffering Quebec colonists; but, through some misunderstanding or neglect of orders, the ships failed to reach the place in time to prevent its capture by Kirk. Razilly is best known as governor of Acadia (1632–35.— Ed.

the great Bay of *Quebec*, at the Point of the Iſle of *Orleans*. The Fleet conſiſted of three Ships, and ſix others which ſtay'd at *Tadouſſac*, and followed them. The Miſſioners, Jeſuits, and *Recollets* had Orders to retire into the Fort of *Quebec* with the Inhabitants. Father *Valentine le Roux* aſſures us there was only Powder for three or four Diſcharges of Cannon, and eight or nine hundred Loads for Muſquets.

Mr. *Kirk*, General of the Engliſh Fleet, ſent an Engliſh Gentleman to *Sieur de Champlin* to ſummon the Place, and to deliver a very honourable Letter. The miſerable ſtate of the Country, which had neither Proviſions nor Ammunition, for there had come no Supply for two Years paſt, obliged the Governor to return a more ſupple Anſwer than the Year paſt.

He therefore deputed Father *Joſeph Caron*, Superior of the *Recollets*, and ſent him aboard the Engliſh Admiral, to treat of the Surrender of *Quebec* upon advantagious Terms; and above all, to obtain ſome delay, if poſſible. Father *Joſeph* demanded fifteen days, but the Engliſh General knowing the weak condition of the place, would admit of no delay. The Father inſiſted ſtill upon fifteen days, upon which the Engliſh call'd a Council, and the Reſult was, they would only grant them that day till night. The Admiral gave Orders to Father *Joſeph* to return to *Quebec* with this Anſwer, and that they ſhould there make the Articles of Capitulation ready, which ſhould be punctually perform'd.

[169] The Engliſh Admiral in a very civil and obliging manner told Father *Joſeph*, that he with his Religious might

return to their Convent, and bid him be of good chear, for no harm ſhould be done them, happen what would.

Two French Priſoners, the one called *Bailli*,[1] formerly Commiſſary of the Company of Merchants, and *Peter le Roy*, by trade a Waggoner, had done ill Offices to the Jeſuits with one of the Engliſh Captains: They perſwaded him that he ſhould find with them great Riches. This was the reaſon that this Captain told Father *Joſeph* in a heat, that if the Wind had proved good, they would have begun with their College firſt. Father *Joſeph* at his return told them of the deſign, on purpoſe that they might take care of their Affairs in the Articles of the Treaty which were to be made.

Father *Joſeph* having receiv'd this Anſwer from the Admiral, who ſhewed him the Ships with all the Ammunition, and the Souldiers with their Arms; in concluſion, he was ſet a ſhoar, and made his Report to Monſieur *Champlin* at *Quebec*.

A Council was held, and they were divided in their Sentiments. Two French Men who had accompanied Father *Joſeph*, obſerved that the Engliſh were but few in number, and that they had not above two or three hundred Men of regular Troops, with ſome others that had not the Mein of Souldiers: Beſides, they confided much in the Courage of the Inhabitants of *Quebec;* they were therefore much inclined, as well as the Jeſuits, and our Religious, to run the risk of a Siege. But the Experience that Monſieur *Champlin* had of the Bravery of the *Engliſh*, who would rather periſh than

[1] Called Le Baillif in the *Jesuit Relations*.—Ed.

deſiſt from an Enterprize which they had once begun, adviſed the Council rather to ſurrender upon honourable Terms than ruin all. The Articles of Capitulation were drawn up according [170] to Monſieur *Champlin*'s Advice: Father *Joſeph* was commiſſioned to carry them aboard the Engliſh Admiral; and all things being adjuſted, they demanded time till the next day.

At the ſame time the Savages that were lovers of our Religious, and above all, the afore-mentioned *Chaumin*, ſolicited Father *Joſeph* and our Friars, that they would be pleaſed to grant, that two or three of our Religious might retire into the Woods, and from thence into their Country. Altho *Chaumin* was not yet well confirmed in the Chriſtian Religion, he had a very great love and eſteem for our Religious, becauſe they lived in common as the Savages do. Then having deliberated on this Propoſition, they conſidered on the one ſide, that the *Engliſh* would not be any long time in poſſeſſion of the Country, and that ſooner or later the King of *France* would re-enter by Treaty, or ſome other ways; that in the interim it would advance the common good amongſt the Savages, who offered to entertain our Religious; and that when the Country returned under the Dominion of *France*, our Religious might ſtill be found in *Canada*, and in eſtate to continue their ordinary Labours, and ſupport their begun Eſtabliſhment. They were the more invited to embrace this Propoſal, becauſe the Engliſh General had given ſo great marks of Friendſhip to Father *Joſeph:* In concluſion, two of our Religious offered to go. Father *Joſeph* at the ſame time

did not go far off, and during this he thought it good to loſe no time, ſince they muſt depart and eſcape, as ſome of the *French* did, who went away with the Savages in a Canoo; and it was not little Grief to the Miſſioners to be ſtopt by force in their juſt Deſigns.

The Council of *Quebec* and the other Chieftains oppoſed their departure, and it was concluded for divers Reaſons politick and purely human; which [171] whether it was for the Reproach they pretended to have reaſon to fear in *France*, or whether it was the diſtruſt of Providence towards our Religious, or whether, in ſhort, it was they did not believe the *French* would return again into *Canada*, they were forced to yield.

This afforded matter to build a Complaint upon at Court, and particularly by our Friars of the Province of St. *Denis*, againſt Father *Joſeph*, as not having that Firmneſs and Zeal which he ought to have had on this occaſion; and that the Savages who had put all their Confidence in the *Recollets*, had been better diſpoſed to the Chriſtian Religion than ever before.

Father *Joſeph* juſtified himſelf the beſt he could, and affirmed he had done nothing but executed the Orders of the Council of *Quebec*, as the Anſwers make evident, when he gave an account to the Definitor of his Province at his return, giving an account of his Miſſion.

The next day, being the 20*th* of *July*, in the Year 1629, the *Sieur de Champlin* having been on board the Engliſh Admiral, the Articles of Capitulation were ſigned by both

Parties; after which the *Engliſh* went aſhore, and were put in poſſeſſion of *Canada* by the *Sieur de Champlin.*

Father *Valentine de Roux*, an antient *Commiſſaire*, Provincial of the Friars of *Canada*, whom I ſaw at my return from my Diſcovery, hath all the Articles of Capitulation made by the *French* at *Quebec* with the *Engliſh*, when the *Engliſh* took poſſeſſion; he ſaid the *Sieur de Champlin* ſaved with his Family all his Effects, and even found ſome advantage by this Treaty by the good Entertainment the *Engliſh* ſhew'd him. The *French* Inhabitants who were then in the Country had every one twenty Crowns, and all the reſt of their Goods were to remain to the Conquerors; [172] and from this was made the great Complaint, becauſe there were found ſome particular Perſons who were enrich'd upon this occaſion. Thoſe who were willing to ſtay in the Country, obtained great Advantages of the *Engliſh*, but moſt of all the Family of Monſieur *Hebert*, whom I have often converſed with at *Mount Royal*, when I paſſed by to go to the Fort of *Frontenac.* The Religious, I confeſs, were much indebted to the Generoſity of the *Engliſh* for divers ſingular Favours, which has always made me have a great Eſteem for that brave Nation: They kept punctually their Word given by their Admiral, not ſuffering any Injury to be done to the Convent of our Lady of Angels at *Quebec*, nor to our firſt Reſidence, which was the place where now ſtands the Cathedral Church of *Quebec*, our Religious not having been re-eſtabliſhed there ſince.[1] But

[1] This is evidently an error; as we have already seen, the Récollets returned to Quebec in 1670.— Ed.

notwithſtanding all the Diligence that the Engliſh Officers made uſe of in our favour, they could not hinder but one of their Souldiers ſtole from us a Silver Chalice: But the Engliſh Officers, who are naturally generous, teſtified much Trouble at it to our Religious, and ſwore ſolemnly to take Revenge on the Party if he could be diſcovered.

The Jeſuits, who came not into *Canada* till fourteen or fifteen Years after our Friars[1] (who by conſequence were the firſt Miſſioners of *America*) met with a Treatment far different; their Houſe was pillaged, and all that was found was given as a Prey to the Souldiers; and they were obliged to imbark the next day with the *Sieur Champlin*, and all the *French* except twenty ſeven, who ſet ſail towards *Tadouſſac:* But the two Brothers *Lewis* and [Thomas] *Kirk*, the one Admiral, and the other Vice-Admiral of the *Engliſh*, permitted our Religious to ſtay at *Quebec:* The *Engliſh* teſtifying then publickly, that they left us in *Canada*, to inſtruct the Natives in the [173] Principles of the Chriſtian Religion, and that with the conſent of the King of *England*, that we might be hindred from returning into *France.* They had at the ſame time as much familiarity with them in all things, to ſay or do, or make Viſits, with the ſame liberty as before the taking of *Quebec;* alſo they were ſo far from hindering the exerciſe of the Romiſh Religion, that they prayed them to take from them Wine for the Maſs; which they knew was before de-

[1] The Récollets in Canada, finding themselves unequal to so great a task, invited the Jesuits (1624) to aid them in evangelizing the Indian tribes. In accordance with this request, a party of Jesuit missionaries came to Canada in the following year; and the two orders labored together until the conquest (1629).— Ed.

puted for the ordinary Service of the Church, which there they heartily offered. Our Recollects lived ſo above ſix Weeks after the taking of *Quebec*, and received much Civility from the Engliſh, who ſolicited them to ſtay amongſt them, having liberty to inſtruct the Natives who dealt with them. This continued till the 9th of *September* following, when they embarked us aboard the Sieur *Pontgrave*,[1] who remained at *Canada*, becauſe of his Indiſpoſition, with a deſign to rejoin the Sieur *Champlin*, the Jeſuits, and all the French of *Canada*, who were ordered to paſs to *Tadouſſac*, the day after the taking *Quebec*. I leave you to think how great Sorrow the Miſſioners were plunged into, when enforced to abandon a Miſſion ſo long followed, and with ſo much application.

The hopes that our Friars had of returning in ſome good time into *Canada*, made them hide in ſeveral places part of their Utenſils, and cloſed up in a Caſe of Elk Skins, put into a good Box, which no Air could get into, the principal Ornaments of the Church. The Engliſh Fleet ſet ſail the 14th of *September* for *England*, and arrived at *Plimouth* the 18th of *October*, where our Recollects ſtaid five or ſix days; after which they were conducted to *London*, with ſome more French; from *London* they got to *Callice* [Calais] the 24th of the ſame Month, and from thence to our Convent of *Paris*.

[174] The Publick may remark, that the Engliſh having conſerved our Convent of *Quebec*, and that of our Lady of Angels, the laſt of which was found in good eſtate to receive

[1] François du Pont (also called Pontgravé) was a French merchant who came with his friend Champlain to Canada in 1603; he was engaged in the fur trade from that time until the conquest.— Ed.

the Jeſuits at their return into *Canada*, whilſt their Houſe was making ready; our Religious having told them of the place where they had hid their Ornaments, gave power to the Jeſuits to make uſe of them, or any thing they had there, as by their conſent declared to Father *John* the Jeſuit,[1] which they were pleaſed to accept, and made uſe of our Goods as their own; alſo of our Houſe, of our Church, and of our Lands, of which one part they hold at preſent, from a place called the *Gribanne*, unto the ſide of the Convent of our Lady of Angels. From which it is to be obſerved, that a Letter attributed to Father *L' Allemant* Jeſuit, and related in the 13th Tome of the *French Mercury*, muſt be a Forgery: For there he, amongſt other things contrary to Truth, makes him ſay that he was of the Sentiments of his Provincial, to whom he writ, to dedicate their Church to our Lady of Angels, and that ours was conſecrated to St. *Charles;* which clearly demonſtrates that this Letter was not Father *L'Allemant*'s, as is ſaid: He was better vers'd in the Hiſtory of *America*, than to be ignorant that the firſt Church in *Canada* belonged to the Recollects, who were the firſt Miſſioners, and that it was conſecrated under the name of *our Lady of Angels.*[2]

[1] This is a blunder for Paul le Jeune, who was first of the Jesuits to return to Canada in 1632. He was one of the most noted among the Canadian missionaries of that order, and was superior of the missions during 1632-39. In 1649 he returned to France.— Ed.

[2] A reference to a letter written (Aug. 1, 1626) by Charles Lalemant, then superior of Canadian missions, to his brother Jérôme, also a Jesuit. It was published at Paris in 1627, and reprinted in the *Mercure François*, then the chief periodical journal of France. Hennepin's statement that this letter is a forgery seems to have no valid foundation. See Shea's *Le Clercq*, p. 329, *note**; also *Jes. Relations*, iv, pp. 185–227, 248–250 — where the letter is republished in full.— Ed.

## [175] CHAP. XXXVII.

*How the Religious of the Order of St.* Francis, *in their Miſſions through the habitable World, have been before the Jeſuits.*

I CANNOT but follow the Sentiments of Father *Valentine le Roux*, whom I have mentioned in the foregoing Chapter, which he hath been pleaſed to publiſh under the Name of Father *Chriſtian le Clerc.*

It is a great Glory, and a great ſubject of Conſolation, for our Holy Order of the Religious of St. *Francis*, to have had the advantage to be the firſt Forerunners of the Reverend Fathers of that Company of Jeſus, in all places, by preaching the Goſpel, and firſt digging, and preparing the Vineyard of our Lord, in all Apoſtolical things, in both the *Indies Eaſt* and *Weſt*, in *Aſia*, in *Barbary*, in *Turky*, and generally through all parts; where the Children of St. *Ignatius* have ſince walked in the Steps of the Children of St. *Francis.*

In the *Eaſt-Indies*, where the Jeſuits are at this day great in Credit, in Merit, and in Wealth, having the Dew of Heaven, and the Fat of the Earth; the Receiver-General, whoſe Name I have forgot, made this Diſcourſe in my preſence, at the Table of Monſieur *Comte de Frontenac*, Governour-General of *New-France:* That eight Friars Minors were ſent in the Year of our Lord 1500, and preached the Goſpel at

*Callecute*, and *Cochim*[1]; there receiving the Crown of Martyrdom, all except Father *Henry*, who at his return into *Spain* was made Confeſſor to the King of *Portugal*, and Biſhop of *Ceuta*.

[176] In 1502, there was ordered a great Miſſion of our Religious, who opened the way much farther to advance the Standard of the Croſs; and there made a very great progreſs of the Goſpel, by the Converſion of a prodigious number of theſe People.

In the Year 1510, our Religious of the Order of St. *Francis* built the famous College or Seminary of *Goa*,[2] the capital City of the *Eaſt-Indies;* and our Religious had the Conduct of it, and what accrued to it, for the ſpace of 28 Years; till at the laſt, in the Year 1542, our Religious gave it to St. *Francis Xaverius*, that he might apply himſelf wholly, with his Diſciples, to preach the Goſpel to thoſe barbarous Nations; of which the Hiſtorians of thoſe times give evidence, and the Life of St. *Francis Xaverius*, the firſt Edition, does declare; above all Father *Horace Torcelin*, in a later Edition, alloweth it: But a certain late Author of the Jeſuits has been pleaſed to ſuppreſs this mark of Acknowledgment, which of Juſtice is due to us.[3]

It is well known we have had the honour both in the *Eaſt* and *Weſt-Indies*, and even in *Japan*, where we have been

[1] These names should be Calicut and Cochin, cities on the west coast of Southern Hindostan.— Ed.

[2] One of the most important cities on the west coast of India.— Ed.

[3] The Society of Jesus was founded in 1534, by Ignacio de Loyola; his most prominent disciple was Francisco de Xavier. These two were afterward canonized, as St. Ignatius and St. Francis Xavier. The latter began, in 1541, the missionary labors which have made him famous as "the apostle of the Indies"; in India and

ſharers with the Fathers in the Crown of Martyrdom; our Religious having planted the Goſpel in the Kingdom of *Voxu*, part of the Eaſt of *Japan*, as I have ſhewn in the Preface of this Book: and it is in theſe vaſt Countries where the Jeſuits have been afterwards introduced, ſupported, loved, favoured, and joined with them in the Apoſtolical Labours.

It is not leſs evident in other parts of the World; the Religious of St. *Francis* having ſupported and imployed to this day, as powerful Miſſioners as any ſince the beginning of their Order.

*Alexander* the Fourth, in the Year 1254, gives Teſtimony, in one of his Epiſtles, that our Religious had ſpread themſelves in all Countries, not only of [177] Schiſmaticks, but amongſt thoſe of Infidels. Remark the words of the Sovereign Pontiff.

"*Alexander*, *&c.* To Our well-beloved the Friars-minors, "who have been ſent Miſſioners into the Land of the *Sarazens*, "*Painims*, *Greeks*, *Bulgarians*, *Cumanians*, *Ethiopians*, *Syrians*, "*Iberians*, *Jacobites*, *Nubians*, *Neſtorians*, *Georgians*, *Armenians*, "*Indians*, *Monoſolites*, *Tartars*, the Higher and Lower *Hun*-"*gary*, to the Chriſtian Captives among the Turks, and to "other unbelieving Nations of the Eaſt, or in any other parts "where they are, wiſhing them Health, and ſending them our "Apoſtolick Benediction.

In 1272, our Reverend Father *Jerom d' Aſcole*, afterwards

Japan his preaching converted thousands to the Christian faith, and in this occupation he died (1552).

Orazio Torsellini (Torcellin) was a professor in the Jesuit college at Rome, and wrote many historical and poetical works; he died in 1599.— Ed.

created Pope *Nicholas* the Fourth, with his Diſciples, not only managed the Reconciliation of the Greek with the Latin Church, but preached alſo the Goſpel in *Tartary;* and by this means the Religious of our Order were ſent for by the Princes of the Higher and Lower *Armenia*, in 1289, and continued their Conqueſts in 1332.

*Turky*, with the Kingdoms and Countries under the Grand Signior, have been, and are yet the Theaters of the Zeal of the Religious of St. *Francis*, and are demonſtrations of our Travels. In the Holy Land, and other places, now ſubject to the Turks, the Chriſtians are yet governed by the direction of the Children of St. *Francis*. Thoſe who keep the Sepulchre of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, have done conſiderable Service to the Reverend Fathers Jeſuits; others of them upon divers occaſions have willingly ſerved them.

Hiſtory maketh mention, that in the Year 1342, our Miſſioners went into *Boſnia* and *Sclavonia*, amongſt the Infidels, amongſt the great *Tartars;* who now poſſeſs *China*, and into *Perſia*, *Media*, and *Chaldea*.

[178] In 1370 our Miſſion was reinforced by *Urban* the fifth with 60 of our Religious; the Order being then honoured by a great number of *Martyrs*.

The Embaſſy of *Eugenius* the 4*th*, and the Miſſion of 40 of our Religious to *Preſter John*[1] in 1439, ſupported afterward

[1] Prester (*i. e.*, Priest) John was the title given, in the middle ages, to a supposed Christian sovereign and priest in Central Asia. It is said that this notion arose from the conversion by Nestorian missionaries, in the eleventh or the twelfth century, of a Tartar chief named Ung Khan, which was corrupted or incorrectly translated into Prester John.—Ed.

by a greater Number, is well known, as well as the Reduction of theſe States by them to the Obedience of the Church of *Rome.*

I ſhould never have done, if I ſhould undertake to give an account of all the famous Miſſions we have been honoured with through all the World; in which the Reverend Fathers Jeſuits have ſince ſpread themſelves, and are now entred into our Labours, or rather we have the Advantage of continuing them with us, and acting together in perfect Union for the Glory of God, and Propagation of his Goſpel, which we only ſeek.

It is for this reaſon, that our Recolets of *Paris* called into *Canada* the Jeſuits to help them, that they might labour together for the gaining of Souls: But it is remarkable, that when the Engliſh had reſtored *Canada* to the French after four Years abode there, the Jeſuits, who had better Helps for returning thither than our Religious, and as it were by Intrigues, a Bar was put to the Return of our Recolets. It was a ſenſible trouble to ſee, that ſince we had preceded all the Jeſuits in all other Miſſions of the Chriſtian World, that of *New France* was the only Place where we had not the Conſolation to continue with them in the Apoſtolical Labours; and by ſo much the more, becauſe that reciprocal Charity, which was not in the leaſt diminiſhed between the two Bodies, perſwaded us that the Jeſuits, full of Vertue and Merit, had much regretted our abſence, as ſeems to be evident by their Letters at that time.

It would require a Volume to deſcribe the Difficulties that

our Religious have had, to return into our [179] Miſſions of *Canada*, and the Intrigues that ſome have made uſe of to hinder it: but nothing was omitted as to that. In concluſion, about thirty years after the Deputies of *Canada*, who were impatient for the return of our Recolets, told our Religious more than they were willing to know, and more than Charity would permit to publiſh; the Deputies told our Religious, they wanted ſome to make Curats at *Quebec*, and in ſome other places; that their Conſciences were much troubled to have to do with the ſame People, both for Spirituals and Temporals, there being no Perſons to whom they might communicate the difficulties of their Conſciences, but to the Jeſuits; and that the Recolets not being ſuffered to be amongſt them was a great loſs.

The Directors of the Company of *Canada*[1] diſcourſed us to the like purpoſe, particularly Monſieur *Roſe*, in company of Monſieur *Margonne*, *Berhubier*, and others; who ſpeaking to our Recolets, expreſs'd himſelf in theſe terms. 'My 'Fathers, it had been better you had returned into *Canada* 'than any others; it is a high Injuſtice done to them, and the 'Inhabitants: we now ſee where the Fault lay, preſent your 'Reaſons, and you, and thoſe of the Country, ſhall have all 'the Juſtice we can do you. The Secretary of the Company

[1] The commercial company (formed 1627) by Richelieu and other French officials, with many wealthy merchants, for carrying on the fur trade; it was called "Company of New France," also "the Hundred Associates." It had a monopoly of all Canadian trade, and thus gained enormous profits. In 1663 the company surrendered its charter to the crown. Margonne and Jean Rozée were directors of the company; the other name is probably a misprint for Berthier (Alexandre).—Ed.

likewiſe ſpoke thus to the Religious. 'At other times, my 'Fathers, I have been againſt you, for which I have begged 'God's pardon: I was miſtaken at that preſent; I ſee well I 'have offended; and I pray God you may be ſuffered to re-'turn into *Canada*, after ſo long time, there to take charge 'of your Cures: you are much longed for, for the repoſe of 'Conſciences.

Father *Zachary Moreau*, Recolet, who died the death of the Juſt in my Arms, in our Convent of St. *Germains en Lay*, and *Paul Huett*, who hath been my Father and Maſter from my Youth, at our Convent [180] of Recolets at *Montargis*, ſaid to the Deputies of the Company of *Canada;* 'That tho 'they would even permit us to return, we would not pretend 'to exerciſe the Function of Curats, leſt we ſhould give 'Jealouſy to any: But if the Reverend Fathers the Jeſuits 'ſhould do us the ſame favour that our antient Fathers had 'done them, in the Year 1625, when our Father *Joſeph le* '*Caron*, Superiour of our Convent of *Quebec*, permitted them, 'and even pray'd them out of love to exerciſe the Function 'of Cures by turns. But all at laſt ſerved for nothing; the 'Company ſent back our Religious to the Council of *Quebec*, 'to amuſe them; becauſe the Council was compoſed of a 'Governour, and Perſons who were Creatures of the Rev-'erend Fathers Jeſuits, as were the Superiour of the Miſſion 'of [*sc.* and] the *Sindic*, and [some] of the Inhabitants, whom 'they eaſily gained to hinder our return into *Canada*. The 'Father Provincial of the Jeſuits, and the Father *L' Allemont* 'Superiour of the Profeſt Houſe, was then in *France*, Supe-

'riour of the Miſſions, which all center'd to prolong our 'return. The Reader may judg, that if the Reverend Fathers Jeſuits had been in our place, and our Recolets in theirs, whether we ſhould have been wanting to put a value upon their Requeſts, and employed our Credit to ſerve them: Our Recolets ſtood firm for them againſt the whole Country, who were againſt their coming into *Canada;* and after their arrival, when the Governour and Inhabitants oppoſed their Reception, in the Year 1625, we ſupported them.

True Charity, which is right and ſimple, perſwaded us the Reverend Fathers Jeſuits would not be wanting to make us a willing return of the like, upon this preſent occaſion; and they aſſured us by their Letter the Year following, that it was only want of Power and Credit in the Council of *Quebec*, that they could not do us the Service they deſired.

[181] From this it is eaſy to judg, that there was not one favourable Reſolution given towards our Religious: The Director-General of the Company, Monſieur *Lauzon*, appearing to be careleſs of our return, and in it a very great Obſtacle; he paſſing in quality of Governour of *Canada*, having often promiſed our Re-admiſſion: and afterwards going Governour, pretended not to be wanting to do us good Offices. The Marqueſs *de Deno*[*n*]*ville*, who after the great Diſcovery I had made, went over in quality of Governour of *Canada*, made us the like Promiſes of Monſieur *Lauzon*,[1] for the progreſs of our Diſcovery: beſides, the

[1] Jean de Lauzon (one of the Hundred Associates) was Governor of Canada during 1651-56. Both he and Denonville were friendly to the Jesuits.— Ed.

Marqueſs had Orders to ſupport our Recolets in their Inſtitute, from the Court of *France;* but it proved quite contrary. The Court afterwards recalling him from his Government, it was given to Monſieur the Count *de Frontenac*, who hath been in my time a true Father to our Recolets, and a great ſupport to our Miſſions in *Canada;* as I have ſpoke at large in my Deſcription of my *Louiſiana*, and more in my former Volume.

## CHAP. XXXVIII.

*Of the Sentiments that a Miſſioner ought to have of the little Progreſs they find in their Labours.*

ALL the Chriſtian World acknowledg for a certain and undoubted Truth, and Maxim of Religion, and one of the chief Principles of Faith, that the Vocation and true Converſion of People and Nations, is the great Work and Mercy of the Power of God, and of the triumphant Efficacy of his Grace and Spirit. But if this be true of Nations that are Infidels and Idolaters, which are already under ſome [182] Laws and Rules, and ſo better prepared to receive the Inſtructions of Chriſtian Religion; the Apoſtolick Man ought much more to acknowledg this dependance upon the Soveraign Lord, in reſpect of thoſe barbarous Nations who have not any regard of any Religion true or falſe, who live without Rule, without Order, without Law, without God, without Worſhip, where Reaſon is buried in Matter, and incapable of reaſoning the moſt common things of Religion and Faith.

Such are the People of *Canada*, all along the River of St. *Laurence*, and generally a prodigious quantity of People, of ſundry Nations; which I have given an account of in my *Louiſiana*, or former Book. And that which I offer is that they would in earneſt acknowledg, that the Work of

the converſion of ſo many blind Nations, is above our ſtrength, and that it only appertains to the Father of Spirits, as ſaith St. *Paul*, who hath the Hearts of all Men in his Hands, and who only is able to remove the Vail which covereth the Eyes of theſe Barbarians, and to clear their Underſtanding, to diſſipate the Chaos of darkneſs, wherein they are buried, to bend their Inclinations, ſoften their hard and inflexible Hearts, and civilize them, and make them capable of thoſe Laws which right Reaſon ſuggeſts; and ſo ſubmit themſelves to that which Religion preſcribes.

This is the Foundation of a true Apoſtleſhip, in reſpect of the Natives of *Canada*, and all our great Diſcoveries twelve hundred Leagues beyond it. They ought to have all Moral and Theological Vertues, who are deſigned for ſo great a work as the Converſion of ſo many Nations; for whoſe Salvation I would willingly expoſe my Life. But before one ſacrifices, and wholly devotes himſelf to this great Miſſion, he ought to lay it down for a certain Principle, That none can be drawn efficaciouſly to Jeſus Chriſt, if the [183] Father of Lights do not draw him by the force of his victorious Grace: This his inviſible Spirit breathes where and when he pleaſes; that the moments of Grace are known to God, and in the hands of the Power of the Father; and that having called all Men to Faith, in the preparation of his good Will, common to all, he gives them in his own time, exterior, interior, and ſufficient Grace to obtain it: That the work is not only of him that runs, nor him that wills, but principally of him who illuminates and touches the Heart. The Glory

does not belong to him that preaches, nor to him that plants, nor to him that waters, but to him that gives the increaſe. That a Sacrifice of all Nature is not able to merit of *right*, the firſt Grace of Creation, which does not fall under that head. That it's in vain to endeavour to erect a Spiritual Edifice, if God do not aſſiſt by his preparing and preventing Grace.

An humble Simplicity muſt be the ſole of all their Apoſtolical Labours, and a profound Annihilation of themſelves, and ſubmiſſion to the holy Will of God. When their Zeal has not its effect, they muſt be content to ſay, We have done our part, as to what is required of our Miniſtry, but we are unprofitable Servants.

I now beg of my Lord God upon my Knees, with my hands lifted up to Heaven, that he would be pleaſed to continue and imprint in my Heart even to death, the Sentiments of Submiſſion to the Will of God, and my Superiors, touching the Salvation of the Souls of ſo many Savages, who are in the darkneſs of Ignorance; that I may make an intire Sacrifice of the reſt of my days in ſo laudable an Affair, expoſing my Soul to all the Events of the Providence of God, living and dying; and that I may be ſo happy as to leave Sentiments truly Apoſtolical, full of light, capacity, Vertue and Grace, of Zeal and Courage to undertake [184] any thing for the Converſion of Souls, to ſuffer patiently the greateſt Difficulties, and the ſevereſt Contradictions, for the accompliſhment of their Miniſtry.

I beg of God from the bottom of my Heart, that all the

Miſſioners of the Univerſe may with me be of the number of the Veſſels of Election, deſtinated to carry the Name of our Lord to People and Barbarous Nations, to the utmoſt ends of the World; and that the adorable Providence of God would be pleaſed to fortify his Militant Church with a number of Workmen, to labour in his Vineyard, to ſecond the Labours of all other Orders, Secular and Regular, in the new eſtabliſhments of the Kingdom of Jeſus Chriſt.

*FINIS.*

[185] *An Account of ſeveral New Diſcoveries in* North-America.

## Of *New-France.*

MR. *Joliet*, who was ſent by Count *Frontenac* to diſcover a Way into the *South-Sea*, brought an exact Account of his Voyage, with a Map of it; But his Canow being overſet, at the Foot of the Fall of *St. Louis*, in ſight of *Montroyal*, his Cheſt and his two Men were loſt; therefore the following Account contains only what he has remembred.[1]

I ſet out from the Bay of *Puans* in the Latitude of 42 Degrees 4 Minutes, and having travell'd about 60 Leagues to the Weſtward, I found a *Portage;* and carrying our Canows over-land for half a League, I embark'd with ſix Men on the River *Miſconſing*, which brought us into the *Meſchaſipi* in the Latitude of 42 Degrees and an half, on the 15th of *June*, 1674. This *Portage* is but 40 Leagues from the *Miſſiſſipi.* This River is half a League broad; its Stream is gentle to the Latitude of 38 degrees; for a River, from the Weſt-North which runs into it, increaſe ſo much its Rapidity, that we

[1] This is a poor and inaccurate abridgment of the account given in a contemporary MS. which is published by Margry in his *Découvertes et établissements des Français*, i, pp. 262–270; it is reproduced (with translation) in *Jes. Relations*, lviii, pp. 92–109.— Ed.

cou'd make but five Leagues a Day in our Return. The Savages told us, that the Current is not half ſo great in Winter. The Banks of that River are covered with Woods down to the Sea; but the Cotton-Trees are ſo big, that I have ſeen ſome Canows made of thoſe Trees, eighty Foot long, and three broad, which carry thirty Men. I ſaw 180 of thoſe Wooden-Canows in one Village of the Savages, [186] conſiſting of 300 Cabins. They have abundance of Holly Trees, and other Trees, the Bark whereof is White; Grapes, Apples, Plums, Cheſnuts, Pomegranates, Mulberries, beſides other Nuts unknown to *Europe;* plenty of Turky-Cocks, Parrots, Quails, Wild-Bulls, Stags, and Wild-Goats. Theſe Savages are affable, civil and obliging; and the firſt I met with preſented me with a Pipe or *Calumet* of Peace, which is a Protection even in a Fight. Their Women and old Men take care of the Culture of the Ground, which is ſo fertile as to afford three Crops of *Indian* Corn every Year. They have abundance of Water-Melons, Citruls, and Gourds. When they have ſown their Corn, they go a Hunting for Wild Bulls, whoſe Fleſh they eat, and the Skin ſerves for their Coverings, having dreſs'd the ſame with a ſort of Earth, which ſerves alſo to dye them. They have Axes and Knives from the *French* and *Spaniards*, in exchange of their Beavers, and Skins of Wild Goats. Thoſe who live near the Sea have ſome Fire-Arms.

The *Miſſiſſipi* has few Windings and Turnings, and runs directly to the South, and having follow'd its Courſe till the 33$^{d}$ Degree of Latitude, I reſolv'd to return home, ſeeing

that River did not diſcharge it ſelf into *Mar Vermejo*,[1] which we look'd for, as alſo becauſe the *Spaniards* obſerv'd our Motions for ſix Days together. The Savages told me, that the *Spaniards* live within thirty Leagues to the Weſtward.

The ſaid M. *Joliet* adds, That he had ſet down in his Journal an exact Deſcription of the Iron-Mines they diſcover'd, as alſo of the Quarries of Marble, and Cole-Pits, and Places where they find Salt-Petre, with ſeveral other things. He had alſo obſerv'd what were the fitteſt Places to ſettle Colonies, *&c.* The Soil is very fertile, and produces abundance of Grapes, which might make delicious Wines.

[187] The River of *St. Lewis*,[2] which hath its Source near *Miſſichiganen* [Michigan], is the biggeſt, and the moſt convenient for a Colony, its Mouth into the Lake being very convenient for an Harbour. It is deep and broad, and well ſtock'd with Sturgeons, and other Fiſhes. The Stags, Bulls, Wild-Goats, Turky-Cocks, and other Game, are more plentiful on the Banks of the ſaid River, than any where elſe. There are Meadows Ten or Twenty Leagues broad, encompaſs'd with fine Foreſts; behind which are other Meadows, in which Graſs grows ſix Foot high. Hemp grows naturally in all that Country.

Thoſe who ſhall ſettle themſelves there, need not be oblig'd, as we are here, to beſtow Ten Years labour for felling down the Trees, and grubbing up the Land, before it is fit for Corn; for the Ground is ready for the Plough in that

[1] The Vermillion Sea, now the Gulf of California.— Ed.

[2] So called by Joliet, but later known as the Illinois River.— Ed.

fortunate Country, where they may have good Wine. Their young Wild Bulls may be eaſily learn'd to plough their Land; and their long curl'd Hair, or rather Wool, may ſerve to make good Cloth for their wearing. In ſhort, that Soil wou'd afford any thing neceſſary for Life, except Salt, which they might have another way.

[188] *An Account of M.* La Salles *Voyage to the River* Miſſiſſipi. *Directed to Count* Frontenac, *Governor of* New-France.

THE River of *Niagara* is Navigable for three Leagues, that is, from the Fall to the Mouth of the Lake *Erie;* but the Stream is ſo rapid, that it is almoſt impoſſible for a Bark to ſail up into the Lake, without a ſtrong Gale, and the help of many Men to hale from the Shore at the ſame time. But beſides all this, it requires ſo many other Precautions, that one cannot expect always to ſucceed.

The Mouth of the Lake *Erie* is full of Sands, which make it dangerous; therefore to avoid that Danger, and not venture a Ship every Voyage, it will be ſafer to leave it at an Anchor, in a River which runs into the Lake ſix Leagues from the River *Niagara*, and is the only Harbour and Anchorage in this Lake.

There are three great Points which advance above ten Leagues into it; but being chiefly made up of Sand, they are ſo low that there is great Danger of running a Ship againſt them before they are diſcover'd, and therefore a Pilot muſt be very skilful and careful to ſteer a Ship in this dangerous Lake.

The Streight or Canal between the Lake *Erie*, and the *Huron*, is very rapid, and no leſs difficult than that of *Niagara*,

though much deeper. The Streight of *Miſſilikinac* between the Lake *Huron*, and that of the *Illinois*, is attended with no leſs Difficulties, for the Current is commonly againſt the Wind. There is no Anchorage in the Lake [189] *Huron*, nor any Harbour in that of the *Illinois*, upon the Northern, Weſtern, and Southern Coaſts. There are many Iſlands in both Lakes, which make the Navigation of that of the *Illinois* very perilous; for there being no Harbour to run into for ſhelter, and the Storms being very terrible on that Lake, 'tis a great Providence when a Ship eſcapes being daſh'd in pieces againſt thoſe Iſlands. However, ſome Canals and Anchorages may be diſcover'd in time, which will remove thoſe great Difficulties, as has hapned in the Lake of *Frontenac*, the Navigation whereof is now eaſy, whereas it was at firſt as dangerous as that of the Lake *Huron* or *Illinois*.

The Creek through which we went from the Lake of the *Illinois*, into the *Divine River*, is ſo ſhallow, and ſo much expos'd to the Storms, that no Ship can venture to get in, unleſs it be in a great Calm.[1] Neither is the Country between the ſaid Creek and the *Divine River*, fit for a Canal; for the Meadows between them are drown'd after any great Rain, and ſo a Canal will be immediately fill'd up with Sands: And beſides, it is impoſſible to dig up the Ground, becauſe

[1] This "creek" was the Chicago River; and the Divine River was the Des Plaines, the northern fork of the Illinois; on Joliet's map of 1674 the name Divine is applied to the entire course of the Illinois. The old portage-trail and these two rivers have been made the route for the great Chicago Drainage Canal, which extends from Chicago to Joliet, and furnishes a waterway for navigation (thus far, not open to large vessels) between the Great Lakes and the Mississippi.—Ed.

of the Water, that Country being nothing but a Moraſs: But ſuppoſing it were poſſible to cut the Canal, it wou'd be however uſeleſs; for the *Divine River* is not navigable for forty Leagues together; that is, from that Place to the Village of the *Illinois*, except for Canows, who have hardly Water enough in Summer-time. Beſides this Difficulty, there is a Fall near the Village.

We have ſeen no Mines there, though ſeveral Pieces of Copper are found in the Sand when the River is low. There is the beſt Hemp in that Country I have ſeen any where, though it grows naturally without any culture. The Savages tell us, that they have found near this Village ſome yellow Metal; but that cannot be Gold, according to [190] their own Relation, for the Oar [Ore] of Gold cannot be ſo fine and bright as they told us. There are Coal-Pits on that River.

The Wild Bulls are grown ſomewhat ſcarce ſince the *Illinois* have been at War with their Neighbours, for now all Parties are continually Hunting of them. The Navigation is eaſy from Fort *Crevecœur* to the Sea; and *New-Mexico* is not above twenty Days Journey from the ſaid Fort. The Nations of the *Metontonta*,[1] who live within Ten Days Journey from the ſaid Fort, came to ſee M. *la Salle*, and brought a Horſe's Hoof with them: They told us, That the *Spaniards* make a cruel War upon them, and that they uſe Spears more commonly than Fire-Arms. One may go by Water from Fort *Crevecœur* to the Habitation of theſe Savages.

[1] Or Otontenta; the Des Moines River, and tribes dwelling thereon.— Ed.

There are no *Europeans* at the Mouth of the River *Colbert* (or *Miſſiſſipi*); and the Monſter of which M. *Joliet* gives ſo dreadful a Deſcription, is a Fancy of ſome Savages, and had never any Original. It is within a Days Journey and a half from Fort *Crevecœur;* but had M. *Joliet* gone down the River, he might have ſeen a more terrible one. That Gentleman has not conſider'd that the *Moſopoela*, of whom he takes notice in his Map, were altogether deſtroy'd before he ſet out for his Voyage. He ſets down alſo in his Maps ſeveral Nations, which are nothing but Families of the *Illinois*. The *Pronevoa*, *Carcarilica*, *Tamaroa*, *Koracocnitonon*, *Chinko*, *Caokia*, *Choponſca*, *Amonokoa*, *Cankia*, *Ocanſa*, and ſeveral others, make up the Nation and the Village of the *Illinois*, conſiſting of about 400 Cabins cover'd with Ruſhes, without any Fortifications. I have told 1800 fighting Men amongſt them. They have Peace now with all their Neighbours, except the *Iroquefe;* and it wou'd be eaſy to reconcile them, were it not to be fear'd that they wou'd afterwards fall upon the *Outtouats*, whom they mortally hate, and diſturb [191] thereby our Commerce; ſo that we muſt leave them as they are; for as long as they ſhall have occaſion for us, they will be ready to comply with any thing that we can deſire from them, and keep in awe the Nations inhabiting to the Weſtward, who are much afraid of the *Illinois*.

The Banks of ſeven or eight Rivers, which diſcharge themſelves into the *Miſſiſſipi*, or *Colbert-River*, the leaſt whereof runs above 300 Leagues, are cover'd with Fine Timber for Building Ships.

M. *la Salle* has ſeen ſome Savages of three Nations through which *Ferdinand Sotto* paſs'd with his Army, *viz.* the *Sicachia*, *Caſcin*, and *Aminoya*[1]: They told him that we might go by Water from *Crevecœur* into their Country.

It is highly neceſſary to carry on this Diſcovery; for the River inhabited by the *Sicachia*, which in all likelihood is the true *Chukagoua*, has its Source near *Carolina*, and conſequently very near the Habitation of the *Engliſh*, about three hundred Leagues to the Eaſtward of the *Miſſiſſipi* in the *French Florida*, at the foot of the *Apalachin* Hills: For had the *Engliſh* notice of it, they might by means of this River-Trade with the *Illinois*, *Miamis*, *Nadoueſſians*, and other Savages, ſpoil for ever our Commerce.

The Winter has been as hard in the Country of the *Illinois* as at Fort *Frontenac;* for though the Weather was there in *January* as temperate as in *Provence*, yet the River was ſtill frozen on the 22d of *March;* and therefore I conclude 'tis much the ſame Climate as the Country of the *Iroqueſe.*

The Country between the Lake of the *Illinois* and the Lake *Erie*, is a row of Mountains for a hundred Leagues together, from whence ſpring a great number of Rivers, which run to the Weſtward into the Lake of the *Illinois*, to the North into the Lake *Huron*, to the Eaſt into the Lake *Erie*, and to the South into the River *Ohio.*[2] Their Sources

[1] Sicachia were Chicasas. The Tennessee River was on early maps called Casquinambo; one of these, by De l' Isle, names it "River of the Casquinambaux or Cheraquis" (Cherokees). It is apparently the Tennessee River which is mentioned in the following paragraph.— Ed.

[2] The southeastern watershed of the Lower Peninsula of Michigan varies from 400

are ſo near one [192] another, that in three Days Journey I croſs'd twenty two, the leaſt whereof is bigger than that of *Richelieu*. The top of theſe Mountains are flat, and full of Bogs and Moraſſes, which being not frozen, have prov'd an inſupportable difficulty and trouble in our Voyage. There are now-and-then ſome Plains, which I take to be very fertile; they are cover'd with Bears, Stags, Wild-Goats, Turkey-Cocks, and Wolves, who are ſo fierce as hardly to be frighted away by the Noiſe of our Guns. There is a River in the bottom of the Lake *Erie*, within Ten Leagues of the Canal, which may very much ſhorten the way to the *Illinois*, it being navigable for Canows till within two Leagues of theirs[1]; but the moſt convenient of all is the River *Ohio*, which being navigable for Barks, will ſave all the trouble of making a Communication between the Lake of the *Illinois* and the *Divine River*, and the great Expences of making the ſaid River navigable to Fort *Crevecœur*.

One muſt not fancy that the Ground in the Country of the *Illinois* is ready for the Plough; ſome of them are too dry, others too wet; and in ſhort, all require ſome Toil and Trouble; but I am ſure they can ſufficiently recompence in a little time, thoſe who will be at the pains to cultivate them.

The Nations through which we have paſs'd have receiv'd us very kindly, becauſe of our *Calumet* of Peace, which is a

to 600 feet in altitude. Hennepin mentions it as a "row of Mountains" simply because it rises abruptly from a trough or depression (with an altitude of not over 72 feet) which extends across the center of the Peninsula; this sudden rise gives the effect of an apparently much greater height to the watershed.— Ed.

[1] The Maumee River.— Ed.

ſafe Conduct and a ſufficient Recommendation amongſt the Savages.

The *Illinois* offer'd to accompany us to the Sea, in hopes, as we told them, that we would ſupply them that way with *European* Commodities; for the want of Knives, Axes, *&c.* makes them very officious. The young Calves may be eaſily tam'd, and very uſeful for ſetling our Plantations. The *Illinois* have alſo many Slaves[1] which may be of great uſe to us.

There are as many idle Fellows amongſt them as among other Nations, and a great many more Women [193] than Men. They marry ſeveral Wives, ſometimes nine or ten, and commonly all Siſters if they can, thinking they agree better in their Family.

I have ſeen three Children who have been Baptiz'd; one call'd *Peter*, the other *Joſeph*, and the third *Mary*, who nevertheleſs are like to live as their Father, who has marry'd three Siſters; for they have no farther Chriſtian Inſtruction; Father *Allouez*,[2] who Baptiz'd them, having left that Country, unleſs one would think that the Stick that Father left amongſt them, as a Mark that the Country belongs to him, has any extraordinary Virtue to promote Chriſtianity. Theſe are the

[1] The Illinois Indians were especially active in collecting, and selling to other tribes, slaves captured from the regions beyond the Mississippi. The French who settled at Kaskaskia and other places on the great river adopted from the savages the custom of slaveholding — first of Indian captives, and later of negroes brought from Louisiana. — Ed.

[2] Claude Jean Allouez came to Canada in 1658, and labored in the Western missions from 1665 until his death (Aug. 27, 1689). He founded the Jesuit missions at Chequamegon Bay and Green Bay, and succeeded Marquette among the Illinois tribes; at the time of his death, he was laboring with the Miamis on St. Joseph River. — Ed.

only Chriſtians I have found amongſt them, which I am ſure cannot be ſuch but *in Fide Eccleſiæ.*

Father *Allouez* lives now in a Village of the *Miamis*, *Maſkoutens*, and *Ochiakenens*, who have quitted their own Nation and Ancient Habitations, to confederate themſelves with the *Iroqueſe* againſt the *Illinois;* and for that purpoſe they ſent laſt Summer an Embaſſy into the Country of the *Iroqueſe*, with a Letter of Father *Allouez.* The end of that Embaſſy was, as I have ſaid, to oblige 'em to unite themſelves with them againſt the *Illinois;* and they were negotiating the Alliance, when I arriv'd at the Village of the *Tſonnontouans;* and upon notice thereof, a Woman was ſent to tell them to run away, for fear the *Iroqueſe* ſhould kill them. They had however no deſign to do them any harm, as it appear'd afterwards; for the *Iroqueſe* having overtaken the ſaid Ambaſſadors, they were kindly us'd; but they enter'd upon no Buſineſs, as long as I continu'd there. I met with one of the ſaid Ambaſſadors ſince that time in their own Country, who told me ſuch horrid things, that I cannot entirely believe them; and I rather ſuſpect the *Miamis* to be Contrivers thereof. However, Father *Allouez* had no ſooner intelligence that I was arriv'd at the Village of the [194] *Illinois*, than that they ſent one *Monſo*, one of their Chiefs, with four large Kettles, twelve Axes, and twenty Knives, to perſuade the *Illinois* that I was Brother of the *Iroqueſe;* that my Breath ſmell'd like theirs; that I eat Serpents; that I was ſent to betray them, and attack them one way, while the *Iroqueſe* ſhould attack them

by another; that I was hated by all the *Black-Gowns*, who forſook me becauſe I deſign'd to deſtroy the *Miamis*, having taken two of them Priſoners; and, laſtly, that I underſtood Phyſick enough to poyſon all the World. Their Suggeſtions were ſo ridiculous and ſo falſe, that I had no great difficulty to convince the *Illinois* of the Malice of my Enemies; and *Monſo* was in great danger of loſing his Life for his pains. They told him he had an *Iroqueſe* Serpent under his Tongue, meaning his Baſeneſs and Malice; that his Comrades who had been Ambaſſadors into their Country, had brought that Venom, and had breathed in the Malice of the *Iroqueſe* in ſmoaking in their *Calumet.* I was oblig'd to intercede for him, for elſe they would have murther'd him.

'Tis certain, that their Deſign is to engage Count *Frontenac* into a War with the *Iroqueſe;* and having tri'd in vain ſeveral Ways to ſucceed, they think there is no better than to perſuade the Nation of the *Miamis*, who are our Confederates, to ſettle themſelves near the *Illinois*, and make an Alliance with them, inſomuch that the *Iroqueſe* cannot attack one Nation, without breaking with the other, and thereby oblige your Lordſhip either to forſake our Allies, or declare Wars againſt the *Iroqueſe.* This is not a raſh and groundleſs Judgment; for theſe *Miamis*, with whom Father *Allouez* lives, have kill'd ſeveral *Iroqueſe* this Winter; and having cut the Fingers of another, they ſent him back to tell their Nation that the *Miamis* are join'd with the *Illinois* againſt them. Perhaps that Perfidiouſneſs obliges [195] Father *Allouez* to quit them

next Spring, as I underſtand he deſigns to do. However, I am confident to ſtop the Progreſs of this Cabal, if your Lordſhip comes this Year to weep *for the Death of the Onontake* [Onondagas], who have been kill'd; for the *Illinois* have promis'd me to releaſe ſome Slaves, and forbear their Excurſions againſt the *Iroqueſe*, who having been inform'd of my Good Offices, have expreſs'd a great Gratitude thereof. This *Weeping* is a common Ceremony among the Savages, when any of their Warriors have been kill'd.

I do not wonder that the *Iroqueſe* ſhould talk of invading our Allies; for they are every Year provok'd; and I have ſeen at *Miſſilinaokinak*, amongſt the *Poutouatamits* and the *Miamis*, the Heads of ſeveral *Iroqueſe*, whom they have kill'd by Treachery, as they were a Hunting laſt Spring. This is come to the Knowledge of the *Iroqueſe;* for our Allies have been ſo impudent as to boaſt of it; and eſpecially the *Poutouatamits*, who dancing the *Calumet* at *Miſſilinaokinak* before three *Agneiz*, or Envoys of the *Iroqueſe*, boaſted of their Treachery, and held in their Hands ſeveral Heads of Hair of *Iroqueſe*'s.

I cannot forbear to take notice of the Diſcourſe I had with a Savage of the Nation of the *Wolf*, who being convinc'd of the Truth of the Chriſtian Religion, and preſſed by ſome Miſſionaries to embrace the Catholick, and by ſome *Engliſh* Miniſters to embrace Theirs, was in great perplexity which of the two he ſhould chuſe; for, as he told me, theſe Men are very unlike the Apoſtles; the former becauſe of their great Covetouſneſs, and the latter becauſe of their being

marri'd. But having obſerv'd in the *Recollects* both Chaſtity and the Contempt of the Riches of the World, he was Baptiz'd by them.

I have ſeen in this Country abundance of Green Parrots, bigger and finer than thoſe of our Iſlands.

## [196] *A Diſcovery of ſome New Countries and Nations in the* Northern America. *By Father* Marquette.

ON the 13th of *May*, 1673, I embark'd with M. *Joliet*, who was choſen to be our Director in this Undertaking, and five other *French*-men, in two Canows made of Barks of Trees, with ſome *Indian* Corn and boil'd [*sc.* smoked] Fleſh for our Subſiſtence. We had taken care to get from the Savages all the Intelligence we could, concerning the Countries through which we deſign'd to travel, and had drawn a Map of the ſame, according to their Relation, in which we had mark'd the Rivers, and the Name of the Nations we were to meet, and the Rhombs of the Wind we were to make uſe of in our Journey.

The firſt Nation we met with, is call'd the *Nation of the Wild-Oats*[1]: I went into their River to viſit that People, to whom we have preach'd the Goſpel for ſeveral Years, and amongſt whom there are many good Chriſtians. The *Wild-Oats*, from which they have got their Name, is a ſort of Corn which grows naturally in the ſmall Rivers, the bottom whereof is Owzie,[2] as alſo in marſhy Grounds. It is much like our

[1] The Menominees, whose name means "wild-rice people"—so called because that grain (*Zizania aquatica*) is abundant in their country, and an important part of their food. They lived on the river which still bears their name; it forms part of the boundary between Michigan and Wisconsin.—Ed.

[2] That is, oozy, meaning "slimy" or "muddy."—Ed.

*European* Oats; the Stem is knotted, and grows about two Foot above the Surface of the Water. The Corn is not bigger than ours, but it is twice as long, and therefore it yields much more Meal. It grows above the Water in *June*, and the Savages gather it about *September* in this [197] manner: They go in their Canows into thoſe Rivers, and as they go they ſhake the Ears of the Corn in their Canows, which eaſily falls, if it be ripe: They dry it upon the Fire; and when it is very dry, they put it into a kind of Sack made with the Skin of Beaſts; and having made a Hole in the Ground, they put their Sack therein, and tread on it till they ſee the Chaff is ſeparated from the Corn, which they Winnow afterwards. They pound it in a Mortar to reduce it into Meal, or elſe boil it in Water, and ſeaſon it with Greaſe, which makes it near as good as our Rice.

I acquainted that Nation with the Deſign I had to travel farther into the Country, to diſcover the remoteſt Nations, and teach them the Myſteries of our Holy Religion; at which they were mightily ſurpriz'd, and did their utmoſt to diſſwade me from that Enterprize. They told me that I ſhould meet ſome Nations who ſpare no Strangers, whom they kill without any Provocation or Mercy; that the War thoſe different Nations had one with the other, ſhould daily expoſe me to be taken by their Warriors, who are perpetually abroad to ſurprize their Enemies: That the great River was exceedingly dangerous, and full of dreadful Monſters, who devour'd Men, and even the Canows themſelves. They added, That a Devil ſtopp'd the Paſſage of the ſaid River, and ſunk thoſe

who were ſo bold as to come near the place where he ſtood; and, in ſhort, that the Heat was ſo exceſſive in thoſe Parts, that we ſhould never be able to preſerve our Health.

I return'd them my hearty Thanks for their good Advices; but told them I would not follow them, ſince the Salvation of a great many Souls were concern'd in our Undertaking, for whom I ſhould be glad to loſe my Life. I added, That I laugh'd at their pretended Devils and Monſters, and that their [198] Informations would oblige us to ſtand the more upon our Guard to avoid any Surprize. And ſo having pray'd to God with them, and given them ſome Inſtructions, we parted from them, and arriv'd at the Bay of *Puans* [Green Bay], where our Fathers make a conſiderable Progreſs towards the Converſion of thoſe Ignorant Nations.

The Name of this Bay ſounds better in the Language of the Savages than in ours; for according to the Word they make uſe of, one may call it as well the *Salted Bay*, as the *Stinking Bay;* for they call the Sea after the ſame Name. This oblig'd us to enquire whether there were in that Country any Salt Springs, as there is one among the *Iroqueſe;* but we could find none; and therefore we think that this Name was given to this Bay, becauſe of the great quantity of Mud and Owze that is there, from whence ſuch Vapours ariſe, that occaſion the moſt dreadful Thunders that ever I heard in any Country.

This Bay is about thirty Leagues long, and about eight

broad, that is to ſay in its greateſt breadth; for it grows narrower, and forms a Cone at the extremity; where one may eaſily obſerve, that this Bay has its ſetled Tides juſt as the Sea. This is not a proper place to enquire whether the Flowing and Ebbing of the Water of this Bay, may be properly call'd a Tide, or whether they are occaſion'd by the Winds, which never, or very ſeldom fail to blow from the ſame Point upon the Moon's aſcending our Horizon; but this I may ſay, That in the greateſt Calm, the Waters in this Bay flow and ebb according to the Motion of the Moon; though I will not deny but that the Winds, which move the Waters towards the middle of the Lake, may contribute to this effect.[1]

We left this Bay to go into a River that diſcharges it ſelf therein; and found its Mouth very [199] broad and deep. It flows very gently; but after we had advanc'd ſome Leagues into it, we ſaw it was interrupted by ſeveral Rocks and rapid Streams; and ſo ſhallow in ſome places, that it would hardly bear our Canows. The bottom is full of Flints, which are as ſo many Razors that cut the Canows, and made it impoſſible for our Men to walk therein, to make the Canows more light, when the ſhallowneſs of the Water did not permit us to row away.[2] It is full of Buſtard, Ducks, and Teals, becauſe of the Wild Oats in the Marſhes thereabouts. However, we conquer'd thoſe Difficulties, and

[1] See the observations made by the Jesuit Louis André upon these tides (*Jes. Relations*, lvi, pp. 137–139; lvii, 301–305; lx, 205–207).— Ed.

[2] The (Lower) Fox River of Wisconsin, the outlet of Lake Winnebago.— Ed.

came to an Habitation of the *Miamis*, *Maskoutens*, and *Kikabeux*[1]; but before we arriv'd at the Village, I had the Curioſity to taſte the Mineral Water of a River near it, and found a Simple of a wonderful Virtue againſt the Venom of the Serpents. A Savage who knew it, had ſhown it to Father *Allouez*, who had often occaſion to try its Virtues, God having been pleaſed to provide that Country with that wonderful Antidote againſt the Serpents, who are very dangerous in thoſe Parts. The Root of that Simple is very hot, and taſtes like Gunpowder; they chew it, and apply it to the Part of the Body ſtung by the Serpents; and this without any other Myſtery cures the Wound; and the Serpents have ſuch an Antipathy againſt the Herb, that they run away from any Man who has rubb'd his Body with the ſame. It produces ſeveral Stalks about a foot high; the Leaves are ſomewhat long; the Flower is white, and the whole looks like our Gilliflowers. I took one into our Canow, the better to examine it.

This Bay of *Puans* had been hitherto, as one may ſay, the *Ultima Thulæ* of the *French*, for they never durſt advance further into the Country. This Village, as I have intimated, conſiſts of three ſeveral Nations, *viz. Miamis*, *Maskoutens*, and *Kikabeux* [Kickapoos]. The firſt are more civil than the other, and better [200] ſhap'd, as well as more liberal. They wear long Hair over their Ears, which looks well

[1] The site of this Indian village cannot be identified, further than to locate it on the Upper Fox River, above Lake Winnebago — probably in Green Lake County. See discussion of the subject in *Jes. Relations*, liv, p. 308; and *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, p. 42, *note* 1.— Ed.

enough. They are accounted valiant Men amongſt their Neighbours; but are ſo cunning, that they ſeldom return from their warlike Expeditions without Booty. They are apt to learn any thing, for they love to hear the *European*'s Talk; and Father *Allouez* told me, That they had ſuch a violent deſire to be inſtructed, that they often diſturb'd his Reſt to ask him Queſtions about what he had told them the Day before. The *Maskoutens* and *Kikabeux* are more Clowniſh; and there is as much difference between the *Miamis* and them, as between our Boors and Citizens. As the Rind of Birch-Trees are ſcarce in this Country, they are oblig'd to make their Cabins with Ruſhes, which ſerve as well for covering the ſame, as for Walls. It muſt be own'd that theſe Cabins are very convenient; for they take them down when they pleaſe, and carry them by ſmall Parcels whereever they will, without any trouble.

When I arriv'd there, I was very glad to ſee a great Croſs ſet up in the middle of the Village, adorn'd with ſeveral White Skins, Red Girdles, Bows and Arrows, which that good People had offer'd to the Great *Manitou*, to return him their Thanks for the care he had taken of them during the Winter, and that he had granted them a proſperous Hunting. *Manitou* is the Name they give in general to all Spirits whom they think to be above the Nature of Man.[1]

Their Village is ſituated on a Hill, from whence one may

[1] The cross had to these savages a symbolic meaning, long before they saw white men. See W. J. Hoffman's explanation of its use by the Medicine society among the Menominees, in *U. S. Bur. Ethnol. Rep.*, 1885–86, p. 155.— Ed.

diſcover the largeſt Meadows in the World, adorn'd at certain diſtance with Groves and Woods. The Soil is very fertile, and produces a great quantity of *Indian* Corn. They preſerve alſo Plums and Grapes.

[201] As ſoon as we were arriv'd, M. *Joliet* and I deſir'd the Eldeſt of the Savages to meet us, and I told them that M. *Joliet* was ſent by the Governor of *Canada* to diſcover new Countries, and I from God Almighty to teach them the Knowledge of their Creator, who being abſolute Maſter of all his Creatures, will have all Nations to know him; and that therefore to comply with his Will, I did not value my Life, which I freely expos'd to all manner of Dangers; Concluding, That we wanted two Guides to put us in our Way, which we deſir'd them to grant us. We enforc'd our Compliment with ſome Preſents that were kindly accepted by the Savages; who anſwer'd us likewiſe with a Preſent, *viz.* a *Mat*, which was our Bed during our Voyage. They granted us alſo two Guides, to accompany us for ſome Days. The next Day, being the 10th of *June*, the two *Miamis* who were to conduct us, imbark'd with us in ſight of all the Inhabitants of the Village, who could not admire enough that ſeven *Europeans* ſhould venture upon ſo dangerous and extraordinary an Undertaking.

We were inform'd, that within three Leagues of the *Maskoutens*, there was a River which runs into the *Miſſiſſipi*, and that we were to go directly to the Weſt-South-Weſt, to find it; but there are ſo many Moraſſes and Lakes between it, that had it not been for our Guide,

* *Henepin* calls it *Meſchaſipi.*

we had never been able to find it; and the River upon which we row'd, to find the Place we were to Land and carry our Canow into the other, was ſo full of Wild-Oats, that it lookt rather like a Corn-Field than a River; inſomuch that we cou'd hardly diſcover its Channel. As the *Miamis* frequented this Place, they conducted us to the uſual Place of *Portage*, and help'd us to carry our Canow over-land into the other River, diſtant from the former about two Miles and a half[1]; from [202] whence they return'd home, leaving us in an unknown Country, having nothing to rely upon but the Divine Providence. We made a Solemn Vow in this place, and reſolv'd to uſe ſome particular Prayers every Day to the Bleſſed Virgin, to recommend our Perſons and Enterprize to her Protection, and afterwards embark'd.

This River is call'd *Meſconſin* [Wisconsin]: It is very broad, but the Sands make its Navigation difficult; and this Difficulty is increas'd by an infinite Number of Iſlands cover'd with Vines. The Country through which it flows is very fine; the Groves diſpos'd at certain Diſtances in the Meadows, make a noble Proſpect; and the Fruit of the Trees diſcovers the Fertility of the Soil. Thoſe Groves are full of Wallnut-Trees, as alſo of Oaks, and of another ſort of Trees unknown to us in *Europe*, the Boughs whereof are arm'd with long Thorns. We ſaw no other Game in theſe Meadows but abundance of Wild-Goats, and Wild-Bulls. Within thirty Leagues of this Place where we embark'd, we found ſome Iron-Mines; and one of our Company, who had formerly

[1] The Fox-Wisconsin portage (see p. 306, *note* 1, *ante*).—Ed.

ſeen ſuch Mines, told us that theſe were extraordinary good: They are not above three Foot deep, and are ſituate near a Row of Rocks, the Foot whereof is cover'd with fine Woods. After having row'd ten Leagues further, that is, forty Leagues in all from the Place where we embark'd, we came into the *Miſſiſſipi* on the 17th of *June*. The Mouth of the *Meſconſin* is about forty two Degrees and a half of Latitude. The Satisfaction I had to ſee this famous River, is almoſt incredible; for though the Savages had often ſpoken of it to our Men, none of them had been ſo bold as to venture ſo far in this unknown Country. This oblig'd me to conſider this River with a greater Attention than otherwiſe I wou'd have done, as the Reader will perceive in peruſing the following Account.

[203] The *Miſſiſſipi* is form'd by ſeveral Lakes in the North-Country, from whence it runs to the South. Its Channel is pretty narrow at the Mouth of the *Meſconſin*, being ſtreighten'd by a Row of high Mountains on the other ſide; but however its Stream is very gentle, becauſe of its depth; for we found there nineteen Fathom Water. But a little below that Place, it enlarges it ſelf, and is about three quarters of a League broad. Its Banks are very fine; but three Days after, we diſcover'd a much better Country. The Trees are higher, and the Iſlands ſo beautiful, that I verily believe there is nothing like it in the World. The Meadows are cover'd with an infinite number of Wild-Goats and Bulls, and the River with Buſtards and Swans without Wings, becauſe their Feathers fall in this Country about that

time. We ſaw extraordinary Fiſhes, and one of them was ſo big, that our Canow was like to be broke into Pieces, becauſe it run againſt it. We ſaw alſo a very hideous Sea-Monſter; his Head was like that of a Tyger; but his Noſe was ſomewhat ſharper, and like a Wild-Cat; his Beard was long, his Ears ſtood upright, the Colour of his Head being Grey, and the Neck Black. He look'd upon us for ſome time; but as we came near him, our Oars frighted him away: This is the only one we ſaw.[1] We caught abundance of Sturgeons, and another ſort of Fiſh ſomewhat like our Trouts, except that their Eyes and Noſe are much leſſer, and that they have near the Noſe a Bone like a Woman's Busk, three Inches broad, and a Foot and a half long, the End whereof is flat and very broad, inſomuch that when they leap out of the Water, the Weight of that Bone makes them fall backwards. We ſaw alſo abundance of Turky-Cocks on the Banks of the River.

[204] The *Piſikious*, which we call *Wild-Bulls*, are not much unlike ours; they are not altogether ſo long, but twice as big: We ſhot one of them, and thirteen Men had much ado to drag him from the Place where he fell. Their Head is of a prodigious bigneſs, their Forehead broad and flat, and their Horns (between which there is at leaſt a Foot and a half diſtance) are all black, and much longer than thoſe of our *European* Cattle. They have a Bump on the Back; and their Head, Breaſt, and part of the Shoulders, are cover'd

[1] Probably a panther. The fish here described is the spade-fish (p. 219, *note* 1, *ante*).—Ed.

with long Hair. They have in the middle of their Forehead an ugly Tuff of long Hair, which falling down over their Eyes, blinds them in a manner, and makes them look dreadful. The reſt of the Body is cover'd with curl'd Hair, or rather Wooll, like our Sheep, but much thicker and ruffer. Their Hair falls in Summer-time, and then their Skin is as ſoft as Velvet, nothing remaining but a kind of ſhort Down. The Savages make uſe of their Skins for Gowns, which they paint with ſeveral Colours. Their Fleſh and Fat is excellent, and the beſt Diſh of the Savages, who deſtroy abundance of them, though they are very fierce and dangerous; and if they can but take a Man with their Horns, they toſs him up, and then tread upon him. The Savages hide themſelves when they have ſhot at them, for elſe they ſhou'd be in great danger of their Lives, thoſe Beaſts being fiercer when wounded; they follow them at certain diſtances, till they have loſt ſo much Blood as to be unable to do them any hurt, or to defend themſelves. They Graze upon the Banks of the River; and I have ſeen above four hundred together.[1]

We continu'd to fall down the River, having ſeen nothing for above a hundred Leagues, but Beaſts and Birds; however, we were always upon our Guard, and eſpecially during the Night, for [205] fear of any Surprize. We landed in the Evening to dreſs our Supper, and made but a little Fire, and then left the Shore, caſting an Anchor near the middle

[1] Regarding the bison (usually known as buffalo), see monographs in *U. S. Geol. and Geog. Survey of the Territories, Ann. Rep.*, 1875, pp. 443–587; and *Smithsonian Inst. Rep.*, 1887, pt. 2, pp. 367–548.—Ed.

of the River, where we lay, as the ſafeſt Place, and yet one of us watch'd always by turns. On the 25th of *June* we went a-ſhore, and found ſome freſh Traces of Men upon the Sand, and then found a Path which led into a Meadow. We call'd our Men together, and it was reſolv'd that our Men ſhou'd continue in the Canows, while M. *Joliet* and I ſhou'd follow that Path, and endeavour to find the Habitation of the Savages. This Undertaking was very bold, yet relying upon God Almighty, we went on, and within ten Leagues from thence, diſcover'd a Village on the Banks of a River, and two other Villages on a Hill within half a League from the former. Having again implor'd God's Protection, we advanc'd ſo near to the Savages, that we cou'd hear them talk, and therefore thought it was time to give them notice of our Arrival, which we did with a loud Cry, and then ſtopp'd. The Savages immediately came out of their Cabins, and ſeeing but two Men, they were not frighted, and eſpecially becauſe we had acquainted them by our Cry, with our Approach; therefore they ſent four of their Old Men to talk to us, and ſee who we were, and what Buſineſs we came upon. They carri'd two Pipes adorn'd with Feathers of ſeveral Colours, which they preſented to the Sun, without ſpeaking a Word. They march'd ſo ſlowly, that we began to be impatient; and when they came near us, they ſtopp'd, and us'd many Ceremonies. We were very glad to ſee them cover'd with Cloth, for thereby we judg'd they were either our Allies, or Friends of our Allies; and therefore I ſpoke to them, and ask'd them who they were? They anſwer'd,

That they were *Illinois*, and [206] preſented us their Pipe to ſmoak, deſiring us alſo to walk to their Habitations. Thoſe Pipes are call'd both by the Savages and *Europeans*, *Calumets;* and therefore I ſhall make uſe of their Word for the future, having often occaſion to mention theſe Pipes.

They conducted us to a Cabin, where an Old Man waited for us, in a very extraordinary Poſture, which, as I underſtand ſince, is the uſual Ceremony they uſe for the Reception of Strangers. This Man ſtood before the Cabin, having both his Hands lifted up to Heaven, oppoſite to the Sun, inſomuch that it darted its Rays through his Fingers, upon his Face; and when we came near him, he told us, *What a fair Day this is ſince thou comeſt to viſit us! All our People wait for thee, and thou ſhalt enter our Cabin in Peace.* Having repeated the Compliment to M. *Joliet*, he conducted us into his Cabin, where abundance of People croweded to ſee us, keeping however a great Silence, that we heard nothing a great while, but now and then theſe Words, *You have done well, Brothers, to come and ſee us.*

As ſoon as we ſat down, they preſented us, according to Cuſtom, their *Calumet*, which one muſt needs accept, for elſe he ſhou'd be lookt upon as an open Enemy, or a meer Brute; however, it is not neceſſary to ſmoak; and provided one puts it to his Mouth, it is enough. While the Old Man ſmoak'd in our Cabin to entertain us, the Great Captain of the *Illinois* ſent us word to come to his Village, where he deſign'd to confer with us; and accordingly we went to him, being attended by all the Inhabitants of this Village, who having

never ſeen any *Europeans* before, accompani'd us all the Way. We met that Captain at the Door of his Cabin, in the middle of Ten Old Men; all of them were ſtanding, and each had his *Calumet* [207] towards the Sun. He made us a ſhort Speech, to congratulate our happy Arrival in that Country; and preſented us his *Calumet*, wherein we were oblig'd to ſmoak before we went into his Cabin.

This Ceremony being over, he conducted us, and deſir'd us to ſit down upon a Mat, and the Old Men of that Nation being preſent, I thought fit to acquaint them with the Subject of our Voyage, and therefore I told them, 1. That we deſign'd to viſit all Nations that were on that River, down to the Sea. 2. That God Almighty, their Creator, took pity on them, and had ſent me to bring them to the Knowledge of his Being, and therefore expected a full Submiſſion from them. 3. That the Great Captain of the *French* had commanded me to tell them, that he had ſubdu'd the *Iroqueſe*, and wou'd have every Body to live in Peace. 4. We deſir'd them to tell us whatever they knew concerning the Nations we were to meet along the River. We enforc'd every Point of our Speech with a Preſent, and then ſate down. The Captain of the *Illinois* anſwer'd, That he was very glad to hear of the great Actions of our Captain, meaning the Governor of *Canada*, and deſir'd us to remain amongſt them, becauſe of the great Dangers to which we ſhou'd be expos'd in continuing our Voyage; but I told them that we did not fear to loſe our Lives for the Glory of God; at which they were mightily ſurpriz'd. He preſented us with a *Calumet*,

the moſt myſterious thing in the World; of which I ſhall give an Account in another Place.

The Council being over, we were invited to a Feaſt, which we were oblig'd to accept. The firſt Meſs was a Diſh of *Sagamittee*, that is, ſome Meal of *Indian* Corn boil'd with Water, and ſeaſon'd with Greaſe: The Maſter of Ceremonies holding [208] a kind of Spoon-full of that *Sagamittee*, put ſome thrice into my Mouth, and then did the like to M. *Joliet*. They brought for a Second Courſe, three Fiſhes in a Diſh, whereof he took a Piece, and having took out the Bones, and blown upon it to cool it, he put it into my Mouth, juſt as a Bird feeds his young ones. The Third Service was a huge Dog, whom they kill'd on purpoſe; but underſtanding that we eat no ſuch Creatures; they brought a Piece of Beef, and ſerv'd us as before.

As ſoon as we had done, we went to viſit the Village, which conſiſts of near three hundred Cabins, being attended by an Officer, to oblige the Savages to make room, and not crowd upon us. They preſented us with Girdles and Garters, and ſome other Works made of the Hair of Bears and Bulls. We lay in the Cabin of the Captain, and the next Day took our Leave of him, promiſing to return in Four Moons.[1] They conducted us as far as our Canows, with near eight hundred Perſons, who expreſs'd an extraordinary Joy for our kind Viſit, as they call'd it.

It will not be improper to relate here what I obſerv'd of the Cuſtom and Manners of this People, which are very

[1] That is, four months; for the Indians reckon time by the moon's revolutions.—Ed.

different from what is practis'd among the other Nations of the *Northern-America*.

The Word *Illinois* in their Language ſignifies *Men*, as if they did look upon the other Savages as Beaſts; and truly it muſt be confeſs'd that they are not altogether in the Wrong, for they have more Humanity than all the other Nations that I have ſeen in *America*. The ſhort time I remain'd with them, did not permit me to inform my ſelf, as much as I deſir'd, of their Cuſtoms and Manners; but here is what I was able to obſerve; They are divided into ſeveral Villages, whereof ſome are very remote [209] from thoſe that I have ſeen. They call them *Perouarca* [*sc.* Peouarea]; but as they live ſo far one from the other, their Language is alſo very different. However, it is a Dialect of the *Algonquin*, and therefore we were able to underſtand what they ſaid, and to converſe with them. They are good-natur'd Men, tractable and eaſy: They keep ſeveral Wives, and yet they are exceedingly jealous: They obſerve with great Care their Behaviour; and if they find them in any Fault as to their Chaſtity, they cut off their Noſes and Ears; and I ſaw ſeveral who carry'd upon their Faces the Marks of their Infidelity. The *Illinois* are very well ſhap'd, and very dextrous: They are good Marksmen with their Arrows and ſmall Guns, with which they are ſupply'd by the Savages that have Commerce with the *Europeans*. This makes them formidable to the other Nations inhabiting to the Weſtward, who have no Fire-Arms. The *Illinois* knowing how much they are frighted at the Noiſe of their Guns, make Excurſions very far to the Weſtward,

and bring Slaves from thence, which they barter with other Nations for the Commodities they want. Thoſe Nations are altogether ignorant of Iron Tools; and their Knives, Axes, and other Inſtruments, are made of Flints, and other ſharp Stones.

When the *Illinois* go upon any Expedition, the whole Village muſt have notice of it; and therefore they uſe to make an Out-cry at the Door of their Huts the Evening before they go, and the Morning they are to ſet out. Their Captains are diſtinguiſh'd from the Soldiers by Red Scarfs, made with the Hair of Bears or Wild Bulls, that are curiouſly wrought. They have abundance of Game; and their Soil is ſo fertile, that their *Indian* Corn never fails, and therefore they never labour under Famine. They ſow Beans and Melons, which are excellent, and eſpecially thoſe whoſe Seed is Red. They [210] greatly eſteem their Citruls, though they are none of the beſt. They dry them up, and keep them till the Winter and Spring. Their Cabins are very large; they are made, cover'd, and pav'd with Mats of Mariſh-Ruſhes. Their Diſhes are of Wood; but their Spoons are made of the Bones of the Skull of Wild-Oxen, which they cut ſo as to make them very convenient to eat their *Sagamittee*. They have Phyſicians amongſt them, towards whom they are very liberal when they are ſick, thinking that the Operation of the Remedies they take, is proportionable to the Preſents they make unto thoſe who have preſcrib'd them. They have no other Clothes but Skins of Beaſts, which ſerve to cover their

Women; for the Men go moſt of the Year ſtark-naked. I don't know by what Superſtition ſome of the *Illinois* and *Nadoueſſians* wear Womens Apparel. When they have taken the ſame, which they do in their Youth, they never leave it off; and certainly there muſt be ſome Myſtery in this Matter, for they never Marry, and work in the Cabins with Women, which other Men think below them to do. They may go however to their Wars, but they muſt uſe only a Club, and not Bows and Arrows, which are fit, as they ſay, for Men alone. They aſſiſt at all the Superſtitions of their *Juglers*, and their ſolemn Dances in honour of the *Calumet*, in which they may ſing, but it is not lawful for them to dance. They are call'd to their Councils, and nothing is determin'd without their Advice; for, becauſe of their extraordinary way of Living, they are look'd upon as *Manitous*, or at leaſt for great and incomparable Genius's.[1]

I muſt ſpeak here of the *Calumet*, the moſt myſterious thing in the World. The Scepters of our Kings are not ſo much reſpected; for the Savages have ſuch a Deference for this Pipe, that one may call it, *The God of Peace and War, and the Arbiter of* [211] *Life and Death.* One, with this *Calumet*, may venture amongſt his Enemies, and in the hotteſt Engagement they lay down their Arms before this Sacred Pipe. The *Illinois* preſented me with one of them, which was very uſeful to us in our Voyage. Their *Calumet of Peace* is different from the *Calumet of War;* They make uſe of the

[1] See p. 168, *note* 1, *ante*.— Ed.

former to ſeal their Alliances and Treaties, to travel with ſafety, and receive Strangers; and the other is to proclaim War.

It is made of a Red Stone like our Marble[1]; the Head is like our common Tobacco-Pipes, but larger; and it is fixt to a hollow Reed, to hold it for ſmoaking. They adorn it with fine Feathers of ſeveral Colours; and they call it, *The Calumet of the Sun*, to whom they preſent it, eſpecially when they want fair Weather or Rain, thinking that that Planet can have no leſs reſpect for it than Men have, and therefore that they ſhall obtain their Deſires. They dare not waſh themſelves in Rivers in the beginning of the Summer, or taſte the new Fruit of Trees, before they have danc'd the *Calumet*, which they do in the following manner:

This Dance of the *Calumet* is a ſolemn Ceremony amongſt the Savages, which they perform upon important Occaſions, as to confirm an Alliance, or make Peace with their Neighbours. They uſe it alſo to entertain any Nation that comes to viſit them; and in this Caſe we may conſider it as their Balls. They perform it in Winter-time in their Cabins, and in the open Field in the Summer. They chuſe for that purpoſe a ſet Place among Trees, to ſhelter themſelves againſt the Heat of the Sun, and lay in the middle a large Matt, as a Carpet, to lay upon [it] the God of the Chief of the

[1] This red stone was that now known as "catlinite," thus named for George Catlin, the artist, who was the first to describe (1836) the place from which the Indians obtained it. This is the noted Pipestone Quarry, in Pipestone county, in the southwestern corner of Minnesota. See *Jes. Relations*, lix, p. 310.—Ed.

Company, who gave the Ball; for every one has his peculiar God, whom they call *Manitoa* [*sc.* Manitou]. It is ſometime a Stone, a Bird, a Serpent, or any thing elſe that they dream of in [212] their Sleep; for they think this *Manitoa* will ſupply their Wants, by Fiſhing, Hunting, and other Enterprizes. To the Right of their *Manitoa* they place the *Calumet*, their Great Deity, making round about it a kind of Trophy with their Arms, *viz.* their Clubs, Axes, Bows, Quivers, and Arrows.

Things being thus diſpos'd, and the Hour of Dancing coming on, thoſe who are to ſing, take the moſt Honourable Seats under the Shadow of the Trees, or the Green Arbours they make in caſe the Trees be not thick enough to ſhadow them. They chuſe for this Service the beſt Wits amongſt them, either Men or Women. Every Body ſits down afterwards, round about, as they come, having firſt of all ſaluted the *Manitoa*, which they do in blowing the Smoak of their Tobacco upon it, which is as much as offering to it Frankincenſe. Every Body, one after another, takes the *Calumet*, and holding it with his two Hands, dances with it, following the Cadence of the Songs. This *Preludium* being over, he who is to begin the Dance, appears in the middle of the Aſſembly, and having taken the *Calumet*, preſents it to the Sun, as if he wou'd invite him to ſmoke. Then he moves it into an infinite number of Poſtures, ſometimes laying it near the Ground, then ſtretching its Wings, as if he wou'd make it fly, and then preſents it to the Spectators, who ſmoke with

it one after another, dancing all the while. This is the firſt Scene of this famous Ball.

The Second is a Fight, with Vocal and Inſtrumental Muſick; for they have a kind of Drum, which agrees pretty well with the Voices. The Perſon who dances with the *Calumet*, gives a Signal to one of their Warriours, who takes a Bow and Arrows, with an Ax, from the Trophy already [213] mention'd, and fights the other, who defends himſelf with the *Calumet* alone, both of them dancing all the while. The Fight being over, he who holds the *Calumet*, makes a Speech, wherein he gives an Account of the Battels he has fought, and the Priſoners he has taken, and then receives a Gown, or any other Preſent, from the Chief of the Ball. He gives then the *Calumet* to another, who having acted his Part, gives it to another, and ſo of all others, till the *Calumet* returns to the Captain, who preſents it to the Nation invited unto that Feaſt, as a Mark of their Friendſhip, and a Confirmation of their Alliance. I can't pretend to be ſo much Maſter of their Language as to judge of their Songs, but methinks they are very witty.

We parted from the *Illinois* towards the middle of *June*, about Three a-clock, and fell down the River, looking for another call'd *Pekitanoui*,[1] which runs from the North-Weſt into the *Miſſiſſipi*, of which I ſhall ſpeak anon. As we follow'd the Banks, I obſerv'd on a Rock a Simple, which I take to be very extraordinary. Its Root is like ſmall Turnips link'd together by ſome Fibres of the ſame Root, which

[1] One of the early names of the Missouri River.— Ed.

taſtes like Carrots. From that Root ſprings a Leaf as large as one's Hand, and about an Inch thick, with ſome Spots in the middle; from whence ſpring alſo ſome other Leaves, each of them bearing five or ſix yellow Flowers, like little Bells.

We found abundance of Mulberries as good and as big as ours; and another Fruit which we took at firſt for Olives, but it taſtes like Orange. We found another Fruit as big as an Egg, and having cut it into two Pieces, we found the inſide was divided into ſixteen, eighteen, and twenty ſmall Cells or Holes, and in each of them a Fruit like our Almonds, which is very ſweet, though the Tree ſtinks: Its Leaves are like our Walnut-Trees. We [214] ſaw alſo in the Meadows a Fruit like our Filbirds [Filberts]: The Tree which bears it has its Leaves much broader than ours; and at the End of the Branches there is a kind of a Purſe like a *Turnbole*, in which the Filbirds are lock'd up.[1]

Along the Rocks I have mention'd, we found one very high and ſteep, and ſaw two Monſters painted upon it, which are ſo hideous, that we were frighted at the firſt Sight, and the boldeſt Savages dare not fix their Eyes upon them. They are drawn as big as a Calf, with two Horns like a Wild-Goat; Their Looks are terrible, though their Face has ſomething of Human Figure in it: Their Eyes are Red, their Beard is like that of a Tyger, and their Body is cover'd with Scales. Their Tail is ſo long that it goes o'er their Heads, and then

[1] B. F. French (in Shea's *Discovery of the Mississippi Valley*, p. 38), identifies these fruits as *Cactus opuntia*, *Diospyros virginiana* (persimmon), and *Castanea pumila* (chincapin).

"Turnbole" is a misprint for "turnsole" (*Fr. tournesol*), the sunflower.— Ed.

turns between their Fore-Legs under the Belly, ending like a Fiſh-Tail. There are but three Colours, *viz.* Red, Green, and Black; but thoſe Monſters are ſo well drawn, that I cannot believe that the Savages did it; and the Rock whereon they are painted is ſo ſteep, that it is a Wonder to me how it was poſſible to draw thoſe Figures: But to know to what purpoſe they were made, is as great a Myſtery. Whatever it be, our beſt Painters wou'd hardly do better.

As we fell down the River, following the gentle Stream of the Waters, and diſcourſing concerning thoſe Monſters, we heard a great Noiſe of Waters, and ſaw ſeveral Pieces of Timber, and ſmall floating Iſlands, which were hudled down the River *Pekitanoui*. The Waters of this River are ſo muddy, becauſe of the violence of its Stream, that it is impoſſible to drink of it, and they ſpoil the Clearneſs of the *Miſſiſſipi*, and make its Navigation very dangerous in this Place. This River runs from the North-Weſt; and I hope to diſcover, in following its Channel towards its Source, [215] ſome other River that diſcharges it ſelf into the *Mar Marvejo* [*i. e.*, Bermejo, or Vermejo], or the *Caliphornian-Gulph*. The Savages told me, That about ſix Days Journey from its Mouth, there is a Meadow of thirty Leagues broad, at the end whereof, directly to the North-Weſt, is a ſmall River, which is almoſt navigable for Canows, and runs to the South-Weſt into a Lake, from which ſprings a deep River, which runs directly Weſtward into the Sea, which certainly muſt be the *Mar Vermejo;* and I hope I ſhall have, one time or other, the opportunity to undertake that Diſcovery, to inſtruct thoſe

poor Nations who have been ſo long ignorant of their Creator. But leaving this Digreſſion, I return to the *Miſſiſſipi.*

About 20 Leagues lower than the *Pekitanoui*, we met another River call'd *Ouabouskigou*, which runs into the *Miſſiſſipi*, in the Latitude of 36 degrees; but before we arriv'd there, we paſs'd through a moſt formidable Place to the Savages, who believe that a *Manitoa*, or Devil, reſides in that Place, to deſtroy ſuch who are ſo bold as to come near it. They told us dreadful Stories to deter us from our Undertaking; but this terrible *Manitoa* proves nothing but ſome Rocks in a turning of the River, about thirty foot high, againſt whom the Stream runs with a great violence; and being beaten back by the Rocks and Iſland near it, the Waters make a great noiſe, and flow with a great rapidity through a narrow Canal, which is certainly very dangerous to unskilful Canow-men. This River *Ouabouskigou* comes from the Eaſtward; the *Chuoanous*[1] inhabit its Banks, and are ſo numerous, that I have been inform'd there are thirty eight Villages of that Nation ſituated on this River. This People is much infeſted by the *Iroqueſe*, who make a cruel War upon them without any Provocation, but only becauſe they are [216] a poor harmleſs Nation, unacquainted with any Arms. They take them without any reſiſtance, and carry them into Slavery.

A little above the Mouth of the River, we ſaw ſome

[1] A misprint for Chouanons (Shawnees). The river here mentioned was the Ohio, often called by early French explorers Ouabache, which is apparently a corruption of the Indian name given in the text.—Ed.

Downs, wherein our Men diſcover'd a good Iron-Mine: They ſaw ſeveral Veins of it, and a Lay of about a foot thick. There is alſo a great quantity of it adhering to the Flints, ſome of which they brought into our Canow. There is alſo a kind of fat Earth of three different Colours, *viz.* Purple, Violet, and Red, which turns the Water into a deep Blood-colour. We found alſo a red Sand very heavy: I put ſome upon my Oar, which immediately became red; and the Waters could not waſh it away for a Fortnight together. We had ſeen no Reeds or Canes; but they begin to be ſo thick in this Place, that Wild Bulls can hardly go through them. They grow very high and big, and their Knots are crown'd with ſeveral Leaves long and ſharp, the greenneſs whereof is incomparable.

We had not been troubled hitherto with Gnats, but they began to be very troubleſome to us a little lower in the *Ouabouskigou.* The Savages who inhabit this Country are oblig'd to build their Huts in a different manner from the other, becauſe of thoſe troubleſome Flies. They drive into the Ground big Poles, very near one another, which ſupport a large Hurdle, which ſerves them inſtead of a Floor, under which they make their Fire; and the Smoak drives away thoſe Creatures, who cannot abide it. They lay upon that Hurdle, the Roof whereof is cover'd with Skins againſt the Rain, and ſerves alſo to ſhelter them againſt the Heat of the Sun. The ſame Reaſon oblig'd us to make a Cabin over our Canow.

[217] As we were conſidering the Country, the Banks of

the River being very low, we diſcover'd ſeveral Savages arm'd with Fire-Arms, waiting for us upon the Shoar, where the Stream of the River carri'd us. Our Men prepar'd themſelves to fight, and it was reſolv'd to let them fire firſt of all; and as we came near, I ſpoke to them in the Language of the *Hurons*, and ſhew'd my *Calumet* of Peace; but they did not anſwer me, which we took for a Declaration of War. However, we reſolv'd to venture to paſs; but when they had ſeen us at a nearer diſtance, they deſir'd us in a friendly manner to come to their Habitations, where they entertain'd us with Beef and Oil of Bears, together with white Plums, as good every whit as ours. Theſe Savages have Guns, Knives, Axes, Shovels, Glaſs-Beads, and Bottles wherein they put their Gunpowder. They wear their Hair long as the *Iroqueſe* do, and their Women are cover'd as they are amongſt the *Hurons*. They told us, That they were only within Ten Days Journey of the Sea; that they bought thoſe Commodities from *Europeans* who live to the Eaſtward; that theſe *Europeans* had Images and Beads; that they play upon Inſtruments; that ſome were cloath'd as I was, and that they were very kind to them. However, I could find nothing in them that could perſuade me that they had receiv'd any Inſtructions about our Holy Religion. I endeavour'd to give them a general Idea of it, and preſented them with ſome Medals to put them in mind of it.

The account given us by the Savages was a great Encouragement to us, in hopes to ſee the Sea in a few Days; and therefore we row'd with an extraordinary vigour. The Banks

of the River began to be cover'd with high Trees, [218] which hinder'd us from obſerving the Country, as we had done all along; but we judged from the bellowing of the Bulls, that the Meadows are very near. We ſaw ſome Quails on the Water-ſide, and ſhot a ſmall Parrot, who had the half of his Head red, and the other part and the Neck yellow, and the reſt of the Body green. We found our ſelves in this Place in the Latitude of 33 Degrees, ſteering directly Southerly; and a little while afterwards we diſcover'd a Village on the River-ſide call'd *Michigamea*. The Savages made a great noiſe, and appear'd in Arms, dividing themſelves into three Parties, one of which ſtood on the Shoar, while the others went into their Wooden Canows, to intercept our Retreat, and prevent our eſcape. They were arm'd with Bows and Arrows, Clubs, Axes, and Bucklers. Notwithſtanding theſe Preparations, we row'd directly to the Shoar, where their main Body ſtood; and as we came near, two of their young Warriours flung themſelves into the Water to board my Canow, which he would have done, had not the rapidity of the Stream prevented his Deſign; ſo that they were forc'd to return a-ſhore, having thrown at us their Clubs, which by good fortune went over our Heads. I preſented my *Calumet* of Peace, but they were ſo buſy that they could not ſee: However, as they advanc'd in a body to ſhoot at us, the Old Men diſcover'd my *Calumet;* whereupon they made an Out-cry, commanding their Youth to ſtop, and two of them advanc'd to the Water-ſide, throwing their Arrows and Quivers into our Canow, as a ſign of Peace, deſiring us by ſigns to come

a-ſhoar, which we did, though with great apprehenſions. I ſpoke to them in ſix different Languages, [219] of which they underſtood none; but they brought an Old Man who ſpoke *Illinois*, whom we told, That we deſign'd to go to the Sea, and made them ſome ſmall Preſents. They underſtood what I told them on this matter; but very little, as I fear, of what I added concerning the CREATOR of the World. They anſwer'd, That we ſhould learn whatever we deſir'd ten Leagues lower, at a great Village call'd *Akamſea*, and preſented us with their *Sagometta*, and ſome Fiſh.

We lay there that Night in great Fears, and the next Morning embark'd again with our Interpreter and ten Savages in one of their Wooden Canows, and met within half a League from *Akamſea* two large Canows full of Savages. The Captain was ſtanding in the firſt, holding his *Calumet*, of which he made ſeveral Motions, according to the Cuſtoms of his Country. I ſtood up likewiſe in my Canow with my *Calumet*, at which they were ſo pleas'd, that they met us with all imaginable Demonſtrations of Joy, attended with Songs and Shouts. They preſented us their *Calumet* to ſmoak, and ſome Bread made of *Indian* Corn, and then return'd home, bidding us to follow him, which we did at ſome diſtance. They had in the mean time prepar'd a kind of Scaffold to receive us, adorn'd with fine Mats; upon which we ſat down, and the Old Men and Warriours near us, the reſt of the People ſtanding off. We found amongſt them a young Man who ſpoke *Illinois* much better than the Interpreter we had brought with us from *Mitchigamea;* and we deſir'd him to

acquaint his Nation with the Subject of our Voyage, as he had underſtood it from us. We made him ſome ſmall Preſents, which they receiv'd with great Civility, [220] and ſeem'd to admire what I told them concerning G O D, the Creation of the World, and the Providences; telling us by the Interpreter, That they ſhould think themſelves very happy, if we would remain with them to teach them.

They told us that we were within five Days Journey from the Sea; but that they were not acquainted with the Nation inhabiting the ſame; meaning doubtleſs the *Europeans;* for their Enemies hindred them from keeping any Correſpondence with them. They added, That their Axes, Knives, and Glaſs Beads, had been given them in exchange of other Commodities, by ſome Nations inhabiting to the Eaſtward, and by ſome *Illinois*, who had an Habitation to the Weſtward within four Days Journey of them: That the Savages whom we had met with Fire-Arms, were their Enemies, who hindred their Commerce with the *Europeans;* and that we ſhould be expos'd to great Dangers, if we did venture to proceed farther, becauſe thoſe Savages were continually cruiſing on the River. In the mean time, they brought us ſome *Sagamettea*, with ſome roaſted Corn, and a piece of a Dog.

Theſe Savages are very courteous, and give freely what they have; but their Proviſions are but indifferent, becauſe they dare not leave their Habitation to go a Hunting for fear of their Enemies. They have *Indian* Corn in great plenty, and at all times, having three Crops every Year. They roaſt it, or elſe boil it in great Pots of Earth, which

are curiouſly made.[1] They go naked, and wear their Hair very ſhort, boring their Ears, which they adorn with Rings of Glaſs-Beads; but their Women are cover'd with Skins, having their Hair divided into two [221] Treſſes, which they throw behind their Back, without any other Ornament. Their Feaſts are without any Ceremony: They ſerve their Meats in great Diſhes, and every one eats as much as he pleaſes. Their Language is very difficult, and I could never pronounce any Word of it. Their Cabins are made with the Barks of Trees, and are generally very long; they lie at the two ends, their Beds being about two foot higher than the Floor. They keep their Corn in Paniers made of Ruſhes, or in great Gourds. They have no Beavers, and all their Commodities are the Skins of Wild Bulls. It never ſnows in their Country, and they have no other Winter than ſome violent Rains, which makes the only difference between Summer and Winter. They have no other Fruit but Water-Melons, though their Soil might produce any other, did they know how to cultivate it.

They held a Council, wherein ſome propoſed to murther us, becauſe of our Commodities; but their Chief oppos'd that baſe Deſign, and having ſent for us, *danc'd the Calumet* in our Preſence, which he preſented me with, to ſeal our common Friendſhip. M. *Joliet* and I in the mean time call'd our Men together, to adviſe whether we ſhou'd proceed any

[1] Regarding the pottery manufactured by the tribes of this region, see Holmes's "Ancient Pottery of the Mississippi Valley," in *U. S. Bur. Ethnol. Rep.*, 1882-83, pp. 360–436; and *Reports* of Peabody Museum for 1875 and 1878.—Ed.

further, or return home from thence; and having conſider'd that the Gulph of *Mexico* lying in the Latitude of 31 Degrees and 40 Minutes, cou'd be but within three or four Days Journey from the *Akamſea*, and that therefore the *Miſſiſſipi* diſcharg'd it ſelf into it, and not to the Eaſtward of the Cape of *Florida*, or into the *Californian-Sea*, as it was expected, it was reſolv'd to return home. We conſider'd likewiſe that the Advantage of our great Voyage wou'd be altogether loſt to our Nation, did we fall into the [222] hands of the *Spaniards*, from whom we cou'd expect no other Treatment but Death or Slavery; and therefore it was more prudent to content our ſelves with this Diſcovery, and make a Report thereof to thoſe who had ſent us. So that having reſted another Day, we left the Village of the *Akamſea*, on the 17th of *July*, having follow'd the *Miſſiſſipi* from the Latitude of 42 to 34, and preach'd the Goſpel to the utmoſt of my Power, to the Nations we viſited. We went up the River with great difficulty, becauſe of the Rapidity of the Stream, and left it in the Latitude of 38 Degrees, and went into a River, which conducted us into the Lake of the *Illinois*, which Way is much ſhorter than the other, by the River *Meſconſin*, through which we came.

I never ſaw a more pleaſant Country than the Banks of that River. The Meadows are cover'd with Wild-Bulls, Stags, Wild-Goats; and the Rivers and Lakes with Buſtards, Swans, Ducks, Beavers. We ſaw alſo abundance of Parrots. Several ſmall Rivers fall into this, which is deep and broad, for 65 Leagues, and therefore navigable almoſt all the Year

long. There is but a *Portage* of half a League into the Lake of the *Illinois*.[1] We found on the Banks of the ſaid River a Village of *Illinois* call'd *Kuilka* [*sc.* Kaskasia], conſiſting of 74 Cabins. They receiv'd us with all the Kindneſs imaginable, and oblig'd me to promiſe that I wou'd return to inſtruct them, and live in their Country. Their Captain, with moſt of their Youth, accompani'd us to the Lake of the *Illinois* [Lake Michigan], from whence we return'd to the Bay of *Puans;* where we arriv'd towards the latter end of *September*, having been about three Months in our Journey.

[223] Although my tedious Journey ſhou'd be attended with no other Advantage than the Salvation of one Soul, I ſhou'd think my Pains ſufficiently rewarded, and I hope I may preſume ſo much; for having preach'd the Goſpel to the *Illinois* of *Perouacca* for three Days together, in our Return, my Words made ſuch an Impreſſion upon that poor People, that as we were embarking, they brought to me a Dying Child, to Chriſten him, which I did about half an Hour before he dy'd, by a ſpecial Providence of God, who was pleas'd to ſave that innocent Creature.[2]

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[1] A reference to the Chicago-Des Plaines portage; see p. 626, *note* 1, *ante*.— Ed.

[2] This is an inaccurate and often abridged translation of Marquette's report of his voyage with Joliet down the Mississippi River. For an accurate reproduction of this document (with translation), see *Jes. Relations*, lix, pp. 189–163.— Ed.

[224] *Frequent mention having been made in the preceding Journal, of M.* du Salles; *it may be expected ſome Account ſhould be given of his latter Diſcoveries, the unfortunate Succeſs thereof, and his own Tragical End; which ſo diſcourag'd the* French, *that they never made any further Attempt.*

MR. *du Salles*, with divers *French* who did accompany him, fell down to the Mouth of the Great River, where it diſembogues it ſelf into the Gulf of *Mexico;* but neither he nor any of his Company underſtanding Navigation, or wanting Inſtruments, fanci'd they were in the Latitude of 27 Degrees, whereas really it was 29; and not being able to inform themſelves of its Longitude, or diſtance from the moſt Weſterly End of the Gulf, they preſum'd they were within a few Leagues of the River of *Magdalen*, which is 60 Leagues North of the River of *Palms*, and 120 from the River *Panuco*, as it is repreſented in *Hennepin*'s Chart, and on the Great Globe of *Coronelli*[1]; which great Miſtake was the cauſe of all his Misfortunes: For after his return up the River, and through the Great Lakes to *Canada*, he embrac'd the next Opportunity of returning by Shipping for *France;* where he

[1] Marco Vincenzo Coronelli, an Italian geographer, who lived from about 1650 to 1718.—Ed.

to the King and his Miniſters gave ſuch a favourable Repreſentation of the Country, and Commodities therein contain'd, the Populouſneſs [225] of the Country, Civility of the Inhabitants, far exceeding all the other Natives of *America* they had the Knowledge of; that the King thereupon order'd him a Fleet, and a very conſiderable Equipage, *viz.* a Man of War carrying 56 Guns, a great Fly-boat, a Patache,[1] and a Brigantine, with things convenient for eſtabliſhing a Colony and Traffick with the Natives. This Fleet was Commanded by M. *Beaujeau*, an Experienc'd Sea-Captain, who was Victuall'd for a Year; and M. *du Salles* had under his Command 150 Land-men, who were to ſettle in the Country. The Fleet paſs'd by *Martinico* and *Guardaloupe*, where they took in freſh Proviſion and Water, together with divers Voluntiers; and by M. *du Salle*'s Direction, ſail'd thence to the North-Weſt end of the Gulf, in 27 Degrees. When they arriv'd there, they were in great Confuſion, not being able to come near the Coaſt of *Florida*, by reaſon of a long Bank Reciff, or as the *French* call it, *Contre-coſte*,[2] which they ſearch'd for ſome hundred Miles. It was no-where above a Musket-ſhot over, and every twenty or thirty Miles there was a Breach, by which the Water iſſu'd out of a vaſt *Lagune*, whoſe breadth they could not learn. They went in their Ship-Boat above forty Miles, and could not gain ſight of the main Land or

[1] Parkman (*La Salle*, p. 331) calls these two vessels "a store-ship and a ketch." — Ed.

[2] This term is not to be found in standard French dictionaries, but it evidently refers to the reef-formations which front that and other parts of the Gulf coast, as well as the Atlantic Southern States. — Ed.

Continent. This *Lagune* was ſhallow, in ſome Places ſix foot, in few above nine or ten; there are ſcatter'd up and down in it divers ſmall Iſlands, upon one of them they found above four hundred *Indians*, who did not inhabit there, but came accidentally, being upon ſome Expedition. They were all Archers, very proper goodly Men; their Hutts were cover'd with Skins of the wild crook-back Kine, which the *French* call *Peſikieus*,[1] the *Spaniards Corcobades*, or Crook-back. They convers'd and traffick'd very friendly with the *French* divers Weeks, until an unhappy Accident made a great Breach.

[226] M. *du Salles*, againſt the Opinion of the Pilots, would adventure the Fly-boat through one of the Breaches into the *Lagune*, apprehending he had found a Channel of ſufficient depth, through which he might paſs to the Continent: But whether the Channel was too ſhallow, or that they miſtook it, the Fly-boat was loſt, and the Frigat drawing little Water, eſcap'd. The *Indians* upon the Iſland ſav'd ſome ſmall matter of the Wreck, which the *French* would take by force from them: They offer'd in exchange Skins, and ſuch other Commodities as they had. The *French* when they could get no more, took two of their *Piroques*, or large Canows; which being abſolutely neceſſary for them, and without which they could not poſſibly return to the main Land from whence they came, occaſion'd a Skirmiſh, in which the *French* loſt fifteen Men, and the *Indians* many more. M. *du Salles* being almoſt diſtracted, not knowing how to

[1] The name Pisikiou is an Algonkin appellation of the wild bison; it was, naturally, adopted by the French.— Ed.

find the Mouth of the River, took the Frigat, divers Boats and Pinnaces, together with a hundred and fifty Men, and Proviſions for a Month, and croſs'd the *Lagune*, with an intention to ſearch the Coaſt till he found the Mouth of the Great River. M. *Beaujeau* waited ten Weeks, and heard no Tidings from him, it being in the Heat of Summer. They wanting Water and Proviſions, beſides abundance of his Men falling Sick of Fevers and Bloody-fluxes, he departed for *France*, without any News of M. *du Salle;* who after he departed from the Ships, rambled ſome Days in the *Lagune*, and coaſted the Main chiefly towards the Weſt; which was directly contrary to the Courſe he ſhould have taken, the great River being diſtant above one hundred Leagues to the Eaſt. But many believe M. *du Salle* was guilty of a wilful miſtake; for he perſuaded his Men, That ſince they could not find the River, and were come to the River of St. *Magdalen*, being the North-Weſterly [227] end of the Gulf, which was not above two hundred Leagues from the rich Mines of *Endehe*, *Santa Barbara*, *la Parale*, and others in the Province of *Saceatecas* [Zacatecas], where the *Spaniards* are few, and not Warlike, they could not fail of rich and eaſy Booty. This Propoſition occaſion'd a great Diviſion amongſt his Men, and deadly Feuds: One part were ready to comply with his Project; others for returning to their Ships; a third Party for ſearching the Continent towards the Eaſt, till they found the Great River, and then return and Pilot the Ship thither, and purſue their Inſtructions of Planting and Trading. From Words they came to Blows; many were

kill'd in the Scuffle, and amongſt others, M. *du Salle* very treacherouſly by one of his pretended Friends. Upon his Death they divided, and took ſeveral Courſes. They that return'd to ſeek the Ship, found it departed, and were never heard of ſince; others ſcatter'd, ſome Eaſterly, ſome Weſterly, and Northerly. When I receiv'd this Account, which was above three Years after this diſaſtrous Expedition, not above Six were return'd to *Canada*, and amongſt them M. *du Salle*'s Brother.[1]

So that the Providence of Almighty GOD ſeems to have reſerv'd this Country for the *Engliſh*, a Patent whereof was granted above Fifty Years ago to the Lords Proprietors of *Carolina*, who have made great Diſcoveries therein, ſeven hundred Miles Weſterly from the Mountains, which ſeparate between it *Carolina* and *Virginia*, and Six hundred Miles from North to South, from the Gulf of *Mexico* to the great Inland Lakes, which are ſituated behind the Mountains of *Carolina* and *Virginia*. Beſides, they have an Account of all the Coaſt, from the Cape of *Florida* to the River *Panuco*, the Northerly Bounds of the *Spaniards* on the Gulf of *Mexico*, together with moſt of the chief Harbours, Rivers, [228] and Iſlands thereunto appertaining; and are about to eſtabliſh a very conſiderable Colony on ſome part of the Great River, ſo ſoon as they have agreed upon the Boundaries, or Limits, which

[1] This entire paragraph is grossly inaccurate in its statements. For a correct account of La Salle's colony, and of its and his tragic end, see Parkman's *La Salle*, pp. 351–428, 442–446. Cf. Hennepin's own account as given in the present volume, pp. 388–441.— Ed.

the Lords Proprietors of *Carolina*, who claim by a Patent procur'd long after that of *Carolana*.[1] But there being ſpace enough for both, and the Proprietors generally inclin'd to an Amicable Concluſion, the Succeſs of this Undertaking is impatiently expected: For conſidering the Benignity of the Climate, the Healthfulneſs of the Country, Fruitfulneſs of the Soil, Ingenuity and Tractableneſs of the Inhabitants, Variety of Productions, if prudently manag'd, it cannot, humanly ſpeaking, fail of proving one of the moſt conſiderable Colonies on the North-Continent of *America*, profitable to the Publick and the Undertakers.

## POSTSCRIPT.

I AM inform'd a large Map, or Draught, of this Country is preparing, together with a very particular Account of the Natives, their Cuſtoms, Religion, Commodities, and Materials for divers ſorts of Manufactures, which are by the *Engliſh* procur'd at great Expense from other Countries.

*FINIS.*

[1] The earlier of these grants was made in 1627, to Sir Robert Heath: it covered the territory from 31 degrees to 36 degrees north latitude, and extending from the Atlantic coast to the Western Sea; and to this territory was given the name Carolina, in honor of Charles I. In 1663, the same region was granted by Charles II. to Edward, earl of Clarendon, and others of the King's adherents; and various settlements in what are now North and South Carolina were made under their auspices. Heath had sold his patent, and later it was formally set aside in favor of the Carolina proprietors; but about 1690 it was purchased by Daniel Coxe, who endeavored to obtain governmental recognition for his claim. He also had schemes for planting colonies in the region that he claimed. It is to this state of affairs that reference is made in our text.—Ed.

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